SCHOOL CLASS BOOKS
MACMILLANS

G. Norwood
Oct. 6th 1905.

DEMOSTHENIS

PRO CTESIPHONTE

DE CORONA ORATIO

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

DEMOSTHENIS

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DE CORONA ORATIO

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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London
MACMILLAN AND CO., Limited
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1902

First edition printed 1851.
Second 1860 (*Æschines against Ctesiphon added*). *Third* 1866. *Reprinted* 1870, 1872. *Edited with notes and alterations by Rev. T. Gwatkin* (*Æschines against Ctesiphon omitted*) 1880, *with additions* 1884, *with considerable alterations and additions* (*by E. S. Shuckburgh*) 1889. *Reprinted* 1891, 1896, 1897, 1902.

PREFACE.

Since the edition of this book published in 1889 with a new introduction, revised notes, and indices (1889) the edition of F. Blass (1890) has appeared. I have availed myself of his notes and emendations in correcting the present issue. In the famous passage § 169 I had a year before the appearance of Blass' edition, in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society, proposed to read ἀνεπετάννυσαν for ἐνεπίμπρασαν and mainly on the same grounds as those advanced by him in his Anhang I: namely, (1) the unreasonableness of the setting fire to the booths, (2) the doubt as to γέρρα meaning booths at all, (3) the evidence of the Scholiast on Aristophanes *Acharn.* 22 ἀνεπετάννυσαν γὰρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέκλειον τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ ὤνια ἀνῄρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ὅπως μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβοιεν, (4) the consideration that the Agora had not to be cleared for an assembly (which was in the Pnyx), but to be *closed* to prevent people from loitering in it

doing business when they were wanted in the Pnyx. The corruption however was a very ancient one as shewn by Harpokration s.v. γέρρα, and I have not any more than Blass ventured to alter the received text, though I feel certain in my own mind of the correction. The Prytanies would thus be acting exactly as might be expected. Hearing of Philip's capture of Elateia in the evening they at once saw that there must be an assembly early next morning, and took measures to close the Agora and so draw all the people to the Pnyx. When the people came to the Agora in the morning as usual, the sight of the 'barriers' thus put up would shew them that such a meeting was to be held, and curiosity if nothing else would take them to the Pnyx.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

1896.

INTRODUCTION.

The vote of a 'crown' to outgoing officials at Athens was an ordinary incident of political life, and had become as much a formality as a vote of thanks. Thus the members of the outgoing Boulè were accustomed to have such a reward, and the refusal of it was a conspicuous slight. So, too, individuals who had been holding public offices involving labour or expense were rewarded by this mark of public confidence. The crowns themselves were of insignificant value; it was the approval of the acts of the receiver implied by the vote, and the slight implied by its omission, which formed the important elements in the transaction[1].

The value of the 'crown' in ordinary cases,

Besides, however, this ordinary and formal vote of a crown, there were certain occasions where its bestowal implied a special and extraordinary approval of special and extraordinary services. But with the characteristic dislike of the Athenians for anything which tended to exalt individuals too conspicuously over

and in special cases;

[1] So much a matter of course was this proceeding that we find that στέφανος in the next age of Greek life has lost in this connexion its original meaning of 'crown,' and has come to mean any complimentary present to statesmen or kings or states.

the level of their fellow-citizens, this transaction had been carefully guarded against undue display or vain-glory by the enactment that, in the case of such a crown being voted by the Boulè, the announcement of the fact should be confined to its own chamber; and that, in the case of its being voted by the Ecclesia, it should be announced in the Pnyx. If the 'crown' were given to an Athenian citizen by another state for Hellenic services the announcement might be made in the Dionysiac theatre, where there were many foreigners present to witness the new tragedies at the Greater Dionysia, in March. The object of the regulation appears to have been to draw a clear distinction between what was a purely Athenian transaction, a domestic matter, the formal approval of the citizens for services rendered to themselves by one of themselves, and one of a more public and Hellenic character, in which other Hellenic states were interested. It is one of the many instances of the jealous maintenance of the distinction between local autonomy and imperial union which is the distinguishing characteristic of Greek politics.

restrictions as to its bestowal.

Another limitation imposed by the law on the voting of such crowns was the regulation which ordained that no one who was actually holding office, or who having held office had not past the audit (*εὔθυνα*), which every official had to pass at the end of his tenure, should be made the object of such a vote.

When the fatal battle of Chaeroneia put all power over Greece in the hands of Philip of Macedon, and there seemed every prospect that he would advance to attack Athens, and avenge on her the opposition which the policy recommended by Demosthenes had made to his career of conquest, so far from turning upon the author of that policy the Athenians trusted Demosthenes with the most important affairs. To his energy was committed the task of

State of affairs after the battle of Chaeroneia, August, B.C. 338.

restoring the walls and fortifications; and the Theoric fund was placed under his care as treasurer. In the former of these offices he shewed the greatest activity and liberality, expending upon it a considerable sum, variously estimated at 100 minae and three talents, from his own pocket in addition to the 10 talents of public money voted for the purpose.

Peace of Demadas after Chaeronia.

The worst fears, however, were dissipated by Philip's moderation: a peace was negotiated by Demadas, whereby, in return for the acknowledgment of Philip as the head of Greece, the Athenians were not only left unharmed, but recovered 2000 prisoners without ransom, and had restored to them the possession of Oropus. Affairs at Athens thus returning to the ordinary peaceful course, the partisans of Demosthenes were anxious to shew that they still retained their admiration and approval of the policy of resistance which he had so long been promoting. Accordingly Ctesiphon, of the deme Anaphlystus, proposed a decree in the Boulè that Demosthenes should receive a golden crown in requital of his public services, and that the honour should be proclaimed in the theatre at the exhibition of the new tragedies. The decree was approved in the Boulè, and became thus a *probouleuma* which had then to be brought before the Ecclesia to become a *psephisma*. But this decree would be a direct condemnation of the proceedings of the opposite or Macedonizing party; who accordingly determined to stop it. Notice therefore was immediately given of a γραφὴ παρανόμων or indictment for illegal proposals against Ctesiphon. The effect of this was to stay the farther proceedings on the decree until the decision on the indictment, and it remained as a mere probouleuma until that could be done. But, though notice of the indictment was given at once (337—6), the trial did not take place until seven years afterwards (B.C. 330). The reason for this delay, nowhere stated, must be looked for in the

Ctesiphon's proposal.

Reasons for the indictment of it.

circumstances of the time. The assassination of Philip in B.C. 336 had given the patriot party in Greece fresh hopes; and although these hopes were dashed by the prompt measures of Alexander, and his severe punishment of Thebes (B.C. 335), yet they were not extinguished, and Demosthenes was not surrendered.

Death of Philip gives fresh hopes to the patriot party,

which are foiled by Alexander's successes.

Alexander's absence in the East (B.C. 334—325) was a signal for fresh movements, chief of which was the rising promoted in the Peloponnese by Agis III. of Sparta (B.C. 333—331). During these years then Aeschines did not venture to bring his case into court. But Alexander's great victories,—Granicus B.C. 334, Issus B.C. 333, Arbela B.C. 331,—had destroyed the hopes of the patriot party of obtaining help against Macedonia from Persia; Agis was defeated and killed by Antipater at Megalopolis (B.C. 331), and everywhere therefore the cause of Macedonia was triumphing. This then was the opportunity for Aeschines. He might hope that the revulsion of popular feeling which is generally brought about by a failure, however incurred, would assist him in securing what would be practically a vote of censure on the whole career of Demosthenes, who had devoted himself to rousing his countrymen to resist the encroachments of Philip, and to forming an Hellenic league of defence. The bulk of both speeches, therefore, consists of a review of the whole political career of Demosthenes. The two technical points contained in the Graphè, the illegality of bestowing the crown on an ὑπεύθυνος, and the illegality of ordering its proclamation in the theatre, were not unimportant as affecting the success of the indictment, but they were felt not to touch the real gist and object of the case. In regard to the first Aeschines was clearly in the right; in regard to the second, while Aeschines was probably supported by the law, yet it was a law that had apparently been partly abrogated by custom.

The indictment was then at length brought into court, B.C. 330.

In the first two counts Aeschines technically in the right.

Therefore, although the charge was nominally against Ctesiphon on two points in which a conviction could plausibly be expected, the real interest of the case rested on the first count, which though nominally aimed at Ctesiphon was in effect an indictment of Demosthenes: that *it was not true that Demosthenes had done good service to the state; and the laws forbade the insertion of a falsehood in the public records.* To understand, therefore, the relevancy of this charge it will be necessary to review the policy which Demosthenes had advocated throughout his political career.

The real point lies in the first count.

Shortly before the time that Greece was becoming involved in the Sacred and Social Wars[1], Philip, son of Amyntas, obtained the government of Macedonia, first as nominal guardian of his nephew, and within a few months as king (B.C. 360—359). After getting rid of certain pretenders to the crown, and securing his kingdom from the incursions of the Paeonians and Illyrians, who had long been dangerous neighbours,—in the course of the war with whom he introduced those reforms in the Macedonian army which before long rendered it the most efficient in the world,—he set his face eastward, and entered upon the plans for securing an access to the Pontus and the Aegean which presently brought him into hostile contact with the Athenians; who, though far sunk below their former imperial position, were still powerful at sea, still maintained their hold on many towns, and on the Thracian Chersonese, and were still able to protect the corn ships which supplied their town. Yet Philip's proceedings did not for some time arouse their active opposition. He began with an attempt to extend his dominions in Thrace. In that direction the first frontier town was the most important both as a port,

Political career of Demosthenes.

Philip's earliest measures, B.C. 358.

Philip's cunning diplomacy in regard to Amphipolis, B.C. 358.

[1] Social War B.C. 357—355. Sacred War B.C. 357—346.

and as commanding the road into Thrace. Amphipolis, once a greatly valued possession of Athens, was taken from them by Brasidas in B.C. 424, and had often been vainly attempted by them since. Its possession was also coveted by the important confederation of towns on the Chalcidic Peninsula, of which the leading community was that of Olynthus. By a skilful piece of deceit Philip kept alive the mutual jealousy of Athens and Olynthus, so that neither people assisted Amphipolis; which he accordingly besieged and took.

Philip takes Potidaea, B.C. 356.

His next step was to cement a confederacy against Athenian powers in the north by enlisting the interests of Olynthus. This he did by seizing Potidaea, a possession of Athens on the Isthmus of Pallene, and handing it over to Olynthus, its near neighbour. He then went back to Thrace; where he devoted himself to securing the great riches which were contained in the gold mines in the range of mountains called Pangaeus, to the east of the Strymon, and which had long made Datum the harbour town of Crenides a proverb for wealth. Crenides itself, about sixty miles to the east of the Strymon, and in a strong military position, he refounded under the name of Philippi; and added enormously to his wealth by the product of the mines, coining a new gold stater, which was called after his name. In the same year also his general Parmenio again subdued a rising of Paeonians and Illyrians; his dynasty was strengthened by the birth of an heir, Alexander; and his name was farther noised abroad in Greece by the victory of his horses at Olympia.

He was now rapidly becoming the most formidable person of his time. The Athenians had special reasons to dread him and to be angry with him. For not only had he taken Amphipolis, which they desired to recover, and wrested Potidaea from them in the interests of Olynthus, but he had induced them during the original negotiations

as to Amphipolis to give up Pydna to him, thereby enabling him entirely to exclude them from the Thermaic gulf.

B.C. 356—353. *Apathy of the Athenians as regards Philip.*

Still the Athenians did not move. Partly from apathy, the result of the internal wars always going on, and of a long course of ill-success, partly from a real mistake, they could not be induced to take active steps in opposition to the policy of encroachment which many now saw was to be expected from him. The policy of the last century and a half, which regarded the Persian power as the most formidable enemy of Hellas, still prevailed: and when Demosthenes began his public life by a speech in favour of a vigorous naval reform, it was not with a view to a possible war with Philip, but to one with Persia. It was not till two years later apparently that he began to perceive himself that the real enemy to dread was Philip. 'Some of you,' he says, 'constantly, I notice, disparage Philip as being of no account, and dread the king of Persia as a formidable foe, when he chooses to be such. If we are to despise the one too much to repel him, and to fear the other so far as to yield him everything,—against whom, Athenians, shall we take the field?'

On the Symmories, B.C. 354.

On the liberty of the **Rhodians**, § 24. B.C. 352 [*though others date it* B.C. 351]. *Demosthenes begins to see that Philip is dangerous.*

This low estimate of the power and danger of Philip was soon changed into a more active feeling. The Macedonian king might extend his dominion in Thrace and fill his exchequer from the gold mines of Pangaeus: and the Athenians, though rendered uneasy and jealous, might yet consider that neither the resources at their disposal, nor the actual inconvenience they sustained, would warrant them in undertaking so distant and expensive an expedition as would be required to check his progress. But the state of the Sacred War soon produced an interference on his part in quarters nearer home. And when he began to move south, and to

Philip moves south, B.C. 352.

seize places in Thessaly, such as Pagasae [B.C. 352], a certain number of Athenian statesmen caught the alarm, and tried to arouse their countrymen to see and provide against the danger. As usual there was another party who either openly sympathised with Philip, or thought that there was no danger, or from simple apathy were against taking active steps. But the policy of patriotic exertion and prudent precaution was now warmly advocated by Demosthenes. And in this year began those ceaseless attempts on his part to rouse his countrymen against Philip; to strengthen Athens by alliances; to consolidate her power by naval reforms, and by increased care and expenditure bestowed on her walls and fortifications and outposts, in which he never relaxed while there was the least hope of success, and which make up that policy of fifteen years [B.C. 353—338] formally impeached by Aeschines in his indictment of Ctesiphon, and defended with such extraordinary eloquence and confidence by Demosthenes in the Speech on the Crown.

Demosthenes advises active measures, as against the party of Philip.

These fifteen years fall into four periods of varied lengths, each marked by some forward movements on the part of Philip, and by some great speeches of Demosthenes advocating resistance, counselling the people what course they should pursue, or defending himself against the attacks of the opposite party[1].

[1] Aeschines in his attacks makes the 4 periods I. B.C. 357—346. II. B.C. 346—340. III. B.C. 340—338. IV. B.C. 338—330. But of period IV. he makes little or nothing, and Demosthenes hardly cares to notice that part of his speech. I have divided the career of Demosthenes into periods founded, not on the attacks of Aeschines, but on his own speeches.

First Period, B.C. 353—350.

Philip had made peace with the Athenians in B.C. 359 and had evacuated Amphipolis, although the Athenians had neglected to secure it, being busied with the Social War (B.C. 358—355) and in occupying the Thracian Chersonese, and Philip had again taken it in B.C. 358. By B.C. 355 he had accomplished his triumphs in Thrace, and had begun to interfere in Thessaly on the invitation of the Aleuadae at Larissa, who desired his help against the despots of Pherae. He now determined to complete the expulsion of the Athenians from the Macedonian coast, which he had begun by cheating them out of Pydna; and he therefore laid siege to Methone, their sole remaining possession there. Methone fell in the summer of B.C. 353 without any expedition of relief being sent from Athens; and he then marched into Thessaly to support the Aleuadae, with whom he had been in communication before. He met with some defeats at first from the Phocians under Onomarchus, who had been called in to the aid of Lycophron of Pherae; but though forced to retire, he quickly repaired his losses, and marching again into Thessaly was joined by a large body of Thessalians and decisively defeated Onomarchus somewhere on the coast of the Pagasaean Gulf (B.C. 353). The Sacred War was still raging, between the sacrilegious Phocians and all the states influenced by the Amphictyonic council; and Philip affected to regard his victory over Onomarchus as obtained in the cause of the god of Delphi. He caused his soldiers to wear bay-leaves, as champions of the god, took Pherae, which he declared a free city, and Pagasae, which he garrisoned. He then advanced to Thermopylae with the intention of

Philip makes peace with Athens B.C. 359, but continues to secure his dominions at their expense, and to interfere in Greek politics.

Philip in Thessaly.

invading the Phocians in their own country, and settling the quarrel by their definite defeat. The people of Pagasae, while standing the siege, had sent entreaties to Athens for help. This help was voted and despatched, but with so much delay that it was too late to save the town. Philip was now able to threaten Euboea and Attica itself from Pagasae; and his corsairs did actually harass the Attic coast, carrying off, for instance, on one occasion a sacred vessel from the bay of Marathon itself. These visibly approaching dangers roused the Athenians to a more prompt and vigorous action than usual. An armament was promptly fitted out and despatched to Thermopylae, which effectually prevented Philip's advance over the pass. In the autumn of this year, however (B.C. 352), he returned to Thrace, where he was occupied in extending his power; and when in November news reached Athens that he was besieging a fort in the Chersonese, there was the greatest excitement in the town. It was of the utmost importance to the Athenians to keep the Chersonese, in order to secure their supplies of corn from the Pontus. An expedition was voted; but the ardour of the citizens was presently cooled by reports that Philip was ill, even dead. These reports indeed were presently contradicted, and superseded by others attributing all kinds of plans to him in the direction of interference in Greek politics [1 *Phil.* § 48], but though these reports led to various debates and decrees in the assembly, nothing was being done. It was in these circumstances that Demosthenes came forward for the first time as the declared advocate of active opposition to Philip, and delivered the speech known as the FIRST PHILIPPIC. It is a powerful call to his countrymen to lay aside their policy of indifference, to trust no more to hired troops, and to act promptly

B.C. 352, Philip takes Pagasae and harasses the coast of Attica.

The Athenians stop Philip at Thermopylae.

Philip in Thrace; he is reported to be dead.

First Philippic, *late summer of* B.C. 351. *Demosthenes urges active measures against Philip.*

with their citizen forces both by land and sea, if they wished to keep the inevitable war from their own frontier. Above all, to secure that any expedition they determined upon should not be rendered abortive by arriving too late, owing to the delays caused by their methods of raising money and troops. They must keep an army always ready to start, and ships continually in a state of preparation; and ready to winter at Lemnos or Imbros or some other island, if they wished to give effective aid in the north to places attacked by Philip.

Thus Demosthenes definitely takes up his position as a politician; heading the party of action, as against the easy-going citizens who wished to do nothing, or the active sympathisers with Philip who were to be found in Athens, as in other Greek cities.

Second Period, B.C. 350—348.

Philip determines to complete his command of the Aegean coast by taking Chalcidice.

A glance at a map of Greece will shew Philip's present position in regard to his great object of securing the complete command of the coast of the Aegean. In the north-east, on the Strymonic gulf, he had Amphipolis; on the Thermaic gulf he had Pydna and Methone; on the Pagasaean gulf the town of Pagasae. He therefore commanded the entire coast from Thessaly to Thrace, with the exception of the Chalcidic peninsula, which, studded with Greek colonies, seemed to cut his dominions in two. It was to rectify this disadvantage that his attention was now turned. The Chalcidic towns formed a loose confederacy, which had been dissolved by Sparta in B.C. 379, but had partially revived, and had been for some time viewed with jealousy, both by Athens and Philip. The latter had already used the jealousy existing between Athens and its chief town, Olynthus, with advantage to himself, in B.C. 358, in the matter of Amphipolis;

and had subsequently strengthened Olynthus at the expense of Athens by annexing Potidaea to the league (B.C. 356). Now after two years of secret intrigue, of which we have little information, he resolved to invade the Chalcidic peninsula,—where as usual the mutual animosities of the several towns gave a handle to outside interference,—and make it subservient to himself. The Olynthians in alarm sent urgent messages to Athens for help. And it was in these circumstances that the THREE OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS were delivered. In the first of these, after urging the Athenians not to be late this time, he advises that the war should be undertaken in two ways, (1) by sending the aid asked for to Olynthus, and (2) by harassing the coasts of Philip's own kingdom. He encourages his fellow-citizens by trying to demonstrate that Philip is embarrassed by his position in Thessaly, and would not have undertaken the invasion of Chalcidice if he had not expected to carry it almost without a blow,—in which he had found himself mistaken. And he puts clearly before the Athenians that they must choose between fighting in the north or within their own frontiers, which Philip, if let alone, will surely invade. As for the method of raising the necessary money, he hinted that there was a surplus, now devoted to the Theoricon, which might be applied to this purpose; but also stated the alternative of a general property tax or *εἰσφορά*. The stringency of the law prevented him from formulating his views as to the Theoricon; but its use in this direction was always a favourite object with Demosthenes. The SECOND OLYNTHIAC follows much the same lines. He points out that Philip's power rested on what was essentially a rotten foundation, chicanery and injustice, and that the Athenians had only to exert themselves with promptness to insure the victory of their righteous cause. He now recom-

Philip invades Chalcidice, Midsummer, B.C. 349.

The Olynthiacs, B.C. 349. *Demosthenes urges the Athenians to send help to Olynthus.*

mended a financial reform which should secure a property tax, shared in by everyone according to the amount of his possessions, and such a change in the system of the Symmories as should also secure that the rich contributed to the trierarchy[1] in proportion to their wealth. Finally he pointed out the advantage which Philip got from his position of autocratic power as against the delays caused by the debates and carrying of decrees at Athens: and exhorted the citizens to drop their parties, to leave their commanders a free hand, and to wait till after the campaign to judge of those who had served them well or ill. The THIRD OLYNTHIAC contained a more direct and open recommendation to use the surplus of the Theoric fund for military purposes; and an earnest and even impassioned appeal to the citizens to cast away the enervating habits of their time, and, recurring to the manlier ways of their ancestors, to bend all their energies to offering an effective resistance to Philip.

Fall of Olynthus and depopulation of Chalcidice, B.C. 348.

The course recommended by Demosthenes was not taken: Olynthus was left to its fate, and the Athenian forces wasted on an expedition into Euboea. And though Apollodorus did carry a decree for the use of the Theoricon for military purposes, he was prosecuted for 'illegal proposals' and convicted, and his decree consequently reversed. In B.C. 348, before the arrival of the Athenian relief, sent at last in answer to another pressing appeal, Olynthus fell, and with 32 other confederate towns in Chalcidice was levelled to the ground. Philip was triumphant, and principally from the neglect of the counsel of Demosthenes by his fellow-citizens; but the destruction of these towns, and the selling of 10,000 inhabitants into slavery, though it overawed the Greeks for the time, and made Philip almost undisputed master, and though it was not so cruel as many similar acts of Greeks towards Greeks had been, yet it left

[1] See notes on §§ 102—104.

behind it an indelible feeling—only concealed by fear—of dislike and horror of Macedonian rule.

Third Period, b.c. 347—346.

Overtures for peace with Philip on the proposal of Philocrates and Eubulus, B.C. 347.

1st Embassy to Philip B.C. 346.

Philip was now practically supreme in Greece; and the Athenians, who were tired of the support which they had long been giving to the Phocians, now determined to make peace with Thebes, and also to make overtures to Philip for a general pacification. Hence the embassies, on which Demosthenes and Aeschines served, and which we know principally by the recriminations of the two orators, in the speeches on The Embassy, delivered three years afterwards (B.C. 343). The terms of the treaty which Philip offered, and the ambassadors accepted, were that there was to be peace between Philip and his allies on the one hand, and Athens and her allies on the other, each side keeping the towns then actually in its possession respectively. But from the list of the allies of Athens the Phocians and the town of Halus in Achaia Phthiotis, which had an unsettled quarrel with Pharsalus, were excluded. The omission of Phocis from the Athenian allies would leave it free to Philip to continue to act as the champion of the Amphictyonic Assembly in the Sacred War, and consequently as the chief power in Greece: while the Athenians were specially concerned in keeping on good terms with the Phocians who held Thermopylae, the key of southern Greece. It was now that Aeschines, who in B.C. 348 had advised war with Philip, came forward as his advocate, declared that his secret intentions were to be friends with Athens, give them back Euboea and Oropus, protect the Phocians and humble Thebes. Thus reassured the people voted the ratification of the peace. But as the main provision was that each party should keep what they had got, it was important

Terms of proposed peace.

to get Philip's ratification quickly. And it was now that the criminal delay in the prosecution of this business occurred, which, according to Demosthenes, was caused by the corrupt action of Aeschines and his colleagues. In the fifty days which had been allowed to elapse, Philip had been pushing his conquests in Thrace, and endangering the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese. The ratification by Philip did not take place until his return to Pella (whereas the ambassadors had been instructed to find him wherever he was), and by Philip's allies at Pherae in Thessaly. Thus when the ambassadors left Philip he was only three days' march from Thermopylae. On their return to Athens, Demosthenes denounced the treasonable practices of the ambassadors, but he was not listened to. Philocrates carried a decree formally abandoning the cause of the Phocians and ordering them to give up Delphi to the Amphictyons,—and another embassy, on which Demosthenes declined to serve, was sent to inform Philip of the decree. But meanwhile the Phocian leader Phalaecus had made his own terms with Philip, whereby Thermopylae was put into the king's hands. He promptly summoned an Amphictyonic Council, obtained their decree for the dismemberment of Phocis, the dismantling of 22 of its towns, and the deprivation of their horses and arms until the Phocians should have paid an enormous fine of 10,000 talents. They were also to be expelled, as was Sparta, from their membership of the Amphictyonic Council, the two seats and votes being transferred to Philip, who was also to preside at the next Pythian games. Thus the Sacred War came to an end, leaving all the substantial advantages in the hands of Philip, who by this membership of the Amphictyonic Assembly became recognised as a Greek power, and practically as the most important one of

2nd Embassy. The ambassadors loiter.

3rd Embassy to Philip, announcing that the Athenians abandoned the cause of the Phocians. End of the 'Sacred War.'

Philip a member of the Amphictyonic Council, B.C. 346.

all. The Athenians, however, were much annoyed with these results of the peace which they had made, natural as these results were; and they shewed their annoyance by refusing to send representatives to the Pythian games, at which Philip was to preside; and, when an embassy came from him to demand that they should recognise the arrangements made, there was a strong feeling in the city that they should refuse. It was in these circumstances that the speech On the Peace (latter part of B.C. 346) was delivered, in which Demosthenes shewed that, though the peace was not one to the honour of Athens, it was now too late to reject it. Their own supineness had allowed these things to happen, in spite of his urgent warnings, and they must now recognise facts. After giving Oropus to Thebes, Amphipolis to Philip, the Cardiani to another confederacy, and Chios, Cos, and Rhodes to the Carians, and allowing the Byzantines to recover their fleet,—all for the sake of the advantages to be gained by peace, it would be folly to incur war with Philip, 'all for the sake of a shadow at Delphi,'—for the sake, that is, of protesting against Philip's position in the Amphictyonic league, and his presidency at the Pythian games.

Annoyance felt at Athens at the results of the settlement of Phocis. Demosthenes advises caution. Speech on the **Peace.**

Fourth Period, B.C. 346—338.

Peace existed now in name from B.C. 346 to 340; but from B.C. 344 to the end of this time there was a constant diplomatic war between Philip and Athens. And it was during this period that the influence of Demosthenes constantly grew; and that the opposite party, still headed by Eubulus, became less and less trusted by the people; while Aeschines now comes openly forward as the opponent of Demosthenes and the advocate of Philip. From B.C. 346 to 344 Philip was engaged at home with his troublesome neighbours, the Illyrians and Triballi, and did

Philip's constant intrigues in Greece, B.C. 346—340. Rise of the counter influence of Demosthenes.

not show much in Greek politics. But in B.C. 344 he was again in Thessaly, setting up oligarchical rule in its cities, and for the first time began an interference in the Peloponnese by aiding with men and money in propping up a league of Messenians and Argives against Sparta,—the old policy of Epaminondas, and for which in after years Polybius thought that the Peloponnesians owed Philip a debt of gratitude. An Athenian embassy was sent on the proposition of Demosthenes, and on which he himself served, to Messene and Argos to try and counteract these designs. This gave rise to an embassy from Philip to the Athenians to defend himself against their misconstruction. It was in moving an answer to this embassy that Demosthenes delivered what is called the SECOND PHILIPPIC (B.C. 344). In it he pointed out in earnest language that Philip's aim must necessarily be the humiliation of Athens, as the one obstacle in the way of his chief ambition—absolute supremacy in Greece (ἄρχειν). He therefore supported Thebes for the present, as a makeweight against Athens, just as in the Peloponnese he supported Messene and Argos against Sparta. He had shewed what those who trusted him, and received what seemed benefits from him, were to expect by his treatment of Olynthus, which, after bribing it with Anthemus and Potidaea, he had on the slightest of pretexts besieged and taken; and again by his establishment of a servile oligarchy in Thessaly after helping the Thessalians to expel their tyrants. 'I warned you'—says the orator—'not to surren-'der Thermopylae and the Phocians to him: but you 'would not listen. Others had your ear. Philip was to 'be a benefactor of all Greece: was to fortify Thespiae 'and Plataea, and thus check the insolence of Thebes. 'Was to dig a canal across the neck of the Chersonese; 'was to give us Euboea and Oropus in return for Amphi-'polis. With these mighty expectations my opponents

Philip's interference in the Peloponnesus.

The **Second Philippic,** B.C. 344.

'dazzled and deluded you. You have been deceived: 'your cardinal error was allowing Philip to pass Ther-'mopylae and deal unresisted with the Phocians. Re-'member that into that policy you were guided by my 'opponents.'

Philip however pushed on his policy without serious opposition. In the next year the great trial came on in which Demosthenes charged Aeschines with malversation in his embassies of B.C. 346; and the speech ON THE EMBASSY (B.C. 343) was delivered with that in defence by Aeschines, who was acquitted by a narrow majority[1]. It was a restatement on the part of Demosthenes of what he had all along maintained,—that Philip had been deliberately throwing dust in the eyes of the Athenian people, to gain time to secure his position in Greece, and that in this undertaking Aeschines and his friends had from corrupt motives aided and abetted him. On the one side Demosthenes pointed out that Aeschines had suddenly turned from a policy of active enmity against Philip to one of warm eulogy and support; and that, owing to the scandalous delay in the second embassy, the advantages of the peace had been left wholly with Philip. Aeschines on the other hand tried to shew that Demosthenes had broken down ridiculously in his capacity of advocate of Athenian rights before Philip, and that his present charges were the result of personal malice and enmity, excited by a consciousness of his own failure.

B.C. 343–341. *Philip again actively working in Greece.*

But while these useless recriminations were going on at Athens, Philip was once more displaying his activity in promoting his own interests in Greece, though not always with so much success as in the previous period. He succeeded in getting influence in Elis; but failed to supplant the Athe-

[1] For the doubt as to whether this trial ever took place, see Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.*, vol. II. pp. 326(7), 360.

nians in their guardianship of the temple in Delos. He succeeded in establishing tyrants, subservient to himself, in Oreus and Eretria in Euboea; but he failed to make his way into the Peloponnese. He then began intriguing in Aetolia and attacked Ambracia; but was foiled by the Athenians garrisoning that town, and by a league formed in Acarnania in consequence of an embassy from Athens headed by Demosthenes. Thus checked in other places Philip turned once more to Thrace. Here Athens was especially vulnerable, because her corn supply from the Pontus was a third of her total consumption. Philip had some ground for his action. At the head of the Isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese was the town of Cardia. It had been declared independent in B.C. 357; but in the peace of B.C. 346 had been recognised as among the allies of Philip which the Athenians bound themselves not to attack. In B.C. 343 some Cleruchs or settlers had been sent to the Chersonese from Athens, under Diopeithes; they were not resisted by the other cities; but the people of Cardia refused to receive them on the ground that they were not dependent on Athens. Diopeithes thereupon used force. This was a technical breach of the treaty; Philip sent help to Cardia and a remonstrance to Athens urging that they should submit to arbitration (B.C. 341). It was in these circumstances that Demosthenes delivered the speech on THE CHERSONESE, in answer to those partisans of Philip who wished to recall Diopeithes, to disown his acts, and to keep the peace with Philip. In this speech Demosthenes urged that Diopeithes had only acted in regard to collecting money from the states as every commander had been obliged to do; and that such contributions as he obtained were really voluntary payments made by these states with a view to protect their commerce. It was of vital importance to Athens to have a force ready and on the spot to cope with the ever ready

B.C. 342. *Philip threatens the Thracian Chersonese.*

The speech on the **Chersonese**, B.C. 341.

forces of Philip. If the act of the Athenian commander was a technical breach of the peace, it was amply justified by the actions of Philip in Thrace, which amounted to a real and dangerous violation of its terms. The longer they left him a free hand, the more formidable an adversary would they find him when the time of the inevitable struggle came. The Athenians therefore should at once raise money, keep the armament together, and send out ambassadors in all directions through Greece to convince the various states of the danger that threatened them and of the righteousness of the Athenian cause; while at home they disgraced and punished the venal politicians who were supporting the encroachments of Philip. On the same subject and in the same year (B.C. 341) he delivered the THIRD PHILIPPIC.

Third Philippic, B.C. 341. *Philip must be resisted.*

It is a still more impassioned appeal to the Athenians to act while there is yet time. Philip does not proclaim war, but he acts it: he keeps up the language of peace till he is at the gates of the city which he means to take. All Greece is threatened with the same danger: all Greece must be induced to combine for the common safety. It is no time for deliberation and delay: help must be sent to the Chersonese, and to Byzantium, which Philip is now on the point of attacking. But though other Greek states must be warned, advised and stimulated to action, it is Athens which alone is possessed of the necessary forces for carrying out properly the necessary measures; it is Athens who is pointed out by her history and her prestige as the Champion of Greece.

These frequent and fervent appeals at last had their effect.

Leading position of Demosthenes in B.C. 341—338.

Demosthenes now became the most influential statesman in Athens. It is by his policy in these years that in the *de Corona* [§§ 60 sqq.] he claims to be judged. By his exertions the creatures of Philip were expelled from Euboea [B.C. 340];

a confederacy was formed comprising Euboea, Acarnania, Corinth, Achaia, Corcyra, and Megara acting with Athens as their leader; friendship was renewed with Byzantium, and Philip forced to raise the siege of that town. It was now too that Demosthenes was able to carry into effect the reforms in the system of Trierarchies, and finally (B.C. 339) be carried his long desired measure whereby the surplus revenue was to go to the war-fund instead of the Theoricon. It seemed for a short time that the new vigour thus breathed into the southern and central Greek states would suffice to resist Macedonian intrigues and maintain Hellenic freedom.

The war against Amphissa gives Philip an excuse for interference, B.C. 339–338.

But an outbreak of another Sacred War ordered by the Amphictyons against Amphissa gave Philip, in his character of Amphictyonic champion, an excuse for armed interference in southern Greece. In the view of Demosthenes this war was brought on to a great extent by Aeschines, with the deliberate intention of giving Philip the opportunity for which he was seeking. Being the Athenian representative at the Amphictyonic Council in the spring of B.C. 339, Aeschines was provoked by a charge of sacrilege brought against the Athenians by the Locrians of Amphissa, to retort upon them with the allegation that they had cultivated parts of that very sacred ground, which had been the subject of dispute in the Sacred War. The Amphictyons proclaimed a crusade, destroyed some buildings on the ground, and were resisted in arms by the Amphissians, and nearly lost their lives. A fresh council was summoned; the Amphissians were fined; refused to pay; and in the spring of B.C. 338 Philip was summoned by the Amphictyons to come to their aid. By the advice of Demosthenes the Athenians had abstained from sending a delegate to this last meeting of the council: and though Aeschines had been elected originally to plead their cause before it, the appointment was quashed.

Philip marches southward in the spring of B.C. *338, and seizes Elateia.*

But if the Athenians thought that by thus holding aloof they would avoid all danger, they were soon rudely awakened to a knowledge of their mistake. Philip had promptly availed himself of the invitation or summons of the Amphictyons, and was marching southward with all speed. Suddenly one evening in the spring of B.C. 338 news arrived at Athens that he had seized Elateia, a town which commanded the passes over Mount Oeta and the road to the south, and was fortifying it. The news caused the greatest excitement and alarm at Athens. Philip's action was believed to indicate a deliberate intention of enslaving all Greece; and for the moment his partisans in Athens were silenced. Demosthenes, amidst the gloomy or treasonable silence of the usual speakers at the assembly, came forward and recommended the most energetic measures. The fortifications of Athens were to be repaired, and a message was to be sent to Thebes offering an oblivion of all former quarrels and injuries, and an immediate army of protection. His advice was taken: he was himself appointed a commissioner for the repair of the walls; an army was levied and sent to Thebes, and the next step was awaited with breathless attention. Philip had no wish to fight the Athenians, or at any rate the Athenians and Thebans combined: and instead of marching straight towards Thebes he directed his steps towards Amphissa, that he might maintain the appearance of having come into southern Greece solely as the champion of the sacred rights of the Amphictyonic Council. We do not know in detail the events of the campaign which followed; but after some minor brushes, in some of which the Greek army gained more or less success, a general engagement was fought on the plain of Chaeroneia, which was the scene of several battles in the course of Greek history; and there in August the combined armies of Athens and Thebes, their mercenaries and allies, sustained a crushing

Battle of Chaeroneia, August, B.C. *338.*

defeat. From that day Philip was undisputed master. Athens was at his mercy: and, though he used his victory with forbearance and magnanimity, it was the death-blow to that policy of combined resistance which Demosthenes had been supporting with so much eloquence. He retained the confidence of his fellow-citizens, was appointed to deliver the funeral oration over the slain, and remained commissioner for the repair of the walls and for the administration of the Theoricon. Still he could not now venture to counsel further resistance. He was waiting till the death of Philip should give his party another chance. It was now (B.C. 337) that Ctesiphon proposed that he should receive the 'crown,' usually bestowed as a mark of approval for good services to the state, with the additional honour of having the fact proclaimed in the theatre. Naturally the proposal was traversed by the Macedonizing party now in the ascendant, who put forward Aeschines to impeach Ctesiphon for making an illegal proposal. This barred the possibility of the probouleuma becoming a psephisma; but, as we have seen, it was not until the successes of Alexander (B.C. 335—331) made Macedonian influence more powerful than ever in Greece, that the accuser ventured actually to bring the case into court (B.C. 330).

Aeschines 'against Ctesiphon,' B.C. 330.

Such was the political career of Demosthenes, which the speech of Aeschines reviews in the spirit of the bitterest hostility, and which Demosthenes defends in the speech ON THE CROWN. Putting aside the arguments of Aeschines on the two first counts of the indictment, in which he was at any rate technically in the right [§§ 1—48], and his attacks upon other parts of his public or private life [§§ 51—53], the bulk of his speech contains a deliberate and ordered invective against the whole policy of the orator, the aim of which had been opposition to Philip, and which at any rate laboured under the disadvantage of having been finally un-

The charges against Demosthenes, (1) as to the peace of B.C. 346,

successful [§§ 54—227]. Aeschines charges Demosthenes with corruption in the embassies regarding the peace of B.C. 146, and with the badness of the advice given by him which led to the rest of the Greek states not being included in the pacification [§§ 58—84].

(2) as to his policy between B.C. 346 and 339, especially in Euboea and against Thebes,

He then proceeds to review in a hostile spirit the various points in Athenian policy of the next seven years, in which Demosthenes' influence was paramount, especially in regard to his boast that he had strengthened Athens by the alliances of Euboea and Thebes and other states. Aeschines tries to shew that, so far from strengthening Athenian interest in Euboea, he had nearly involved an Athenian army in utter destruction there; and that what he called an 'alliance' with the Eretrians, was really a surrender on the part of Athens of the right to exact a contribution (*ξύνταξις*) from them [§§ 84—93]. Thus too his boasted negotiations with the Acarnanians and Lacedaemonians, which were to lead them and others to send synedri to Athens, and to contribute men and money, had been falsified by the actual facts, and had fallen through utterly [§§ 97—102]. He had been also bribed by the Chalcidians, Eretrians and Oreitans to obtain for them a remission of their syntaxis, thus weakening the resources of the country [§§ 102—105].

(3) as to the Amphissian war of B.C. 339; and the war against Philip in B.C. 338.

In regard to the Amphissian war his policy had been rash and unwise, carried out in defiance of religious warnings; and, so far from doing good to anyone, had resulted in the destruction of Thebes, the subjection of the once powerful Sparta, and the reduction of Athens from a position of imperial dignity to such a condition that its own territory itself was endangered. In doing this he had conceded to Thebes all the advantages, while to Athens were left the expenses and dangers [§§ 106—147]: and had prevented a possible

compromise, which would have saved the Greeks from the disaster of Chaeroneia, by denouncing all as traitors who spoke of peace [§§ 148—151].

Policy and conduct of Demosthenes after the battle of Chaeroneia, from B.C. 338 to B.C. 330.

Aeschines next reviewed Demosthenes' conduct after Chaeroneia (beginning with a charge of his having behaved with cowardice at the battle itself); and here he has little to say, for in this period Demosthenes took no prominent part in public affairs. He mentions his foolish and mistaken exultation at the death of Philip, his shrinking from his mission as ambassador to Alexander at Thebes (the fact being apparently that Demosthenes knew that his surrender was demanded by the latter), and his fruitless attempts at introducing disorder in the Peloponnese by instigating risings of the Spartans, Eleans and Achaeans [§§ 159—167].

The rest of the speech is taken up with the usual attacks upon his opponent's private character, with elaborate appeals to the heroes of old, contrasting the conduct of Demosthenes with theirs, and other such ad captandum arguments, in which we need not follow him.

Such was the speech to which the oration 'On the Crown' was the reply. This reply was completely successful. Aeschines failed to obtain the necessary fifth part of the votes: and, not being willing to pay the consequent fine of 1000 drachmae, became ἄτιμος and retired to Ephesus to join Alexander; upon whose death he removed again to Rhodes, where he seems to have opened a school of rhetoric. He felt himself the superiority of the speech of Demosthenes to his own; and the author of the 'Lives of the Ten Orators' tells us that when he read his speech to a Rhodian audience, and his hearers expressed surprise that after such a speech he had been defeated, he answered: 'Ah, if you had heard Demosthenes in reply!' After staying some time in Rhodes he removed to Samos, where he died in B.C. 314, eight years after his great rival.

The effect of a speech read must always be different from that which it produced upon hearers. Recent memories of suffering or effort must have made men peculiarly susceptible to the glowing language in which Demosthenes described a policy, in which the majority of his hearers had heartily shared, and from which they had hoped so much. They were ready to believe with him that after all it had not been altogether a failure; and that it was owing to the spirit which they had shewn that they were even then in a better position than many other states in Greece. Demosthenes had his hearers' hearts with him to begin with: and he skilfully contrived, by identifying his motives and policy with theirs, to strengthen his hold upon them. He had the advantage also of speaking with the intensity of personal feeling, while his rival was rather the mouthpiece and official advocate of a party. All this must be taken into account if we care to realize the sort of impression which Demosthenes made on his hearers. The gross personalities which would shock some modern audiences were part of the regular practice of Attic Orators: they perhaps added a spice to the dainty dish which the Athenian listener came to enjoy; and doubtless carried little more real weight at the time than the ridicule of the comic stage. Still they serve rather to weaken our sympathy with the speaker, and to arouse our suspicions of his sincerity. In fact the emotion caused by fervid oratory, whether listened to or read, involves like other strong emotions a recoil proportioned to its violence. We are apt to resent being carried off our feet; and, when time has brought cooler thoughts, to begin analysing the means employed to hurry us along a path which we had no conscious intention of treading. But though this method of criticism may fairly be applied to what are essentially pamphlets, such as the speech against Midias and the 2nd *Philippic* of Cicero, it is not altogether in point when applied to a real oration designed to have an immediate effect.

Its object is persuasion: and many a telling phrase, plausible argument, or burst of passion, which when examined calmly afterwards appears flat, disingenuous or mechanical, had its full influence at the moment, and seemed startling, convincing and spontaneous. As to the wisdom of the policy recommended by Demosthenes, we must take into consideration the fact that, right or wrong, it was the only one capable of maintaining Greek independence in its integrity: and, on the other hand, that the incurable passion for small autonomous states, ceaselessly antagonistic with each other, which is the most striking feature in Greek political life, made the attempt all but impossible. It might have been wiser to temporise and trust to future contingencies to remove the new supremacy, as other supremacies had fallen before. Still the opportunist is not an interesting person; and—*sunt lacrimae rerum*—the champion of a lost cause demands sympathy and respect.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΤΕΙΧΟΣ μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προὐβάλετο τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τήν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν "οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠχύρωσα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινὶ συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς τῇ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης·" οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ (Reiske, p. 221) τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. πεπονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτό, ᾑρέθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν παρέχεσθαι ψιλήν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. εἷς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει. ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὓς ἡ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε· καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἡ πόλις ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς

αὐτήν. ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἡ τιμὴ θαυμαστή· διὸ καὶ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἥψατο, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή. Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων ἄρχοντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν κελεύοντα, ἐὰν μέν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. 222
φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει. καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Αἰσχίνης κέχρηται· πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἄρχεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἤτοι νόμου μέρος, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσηται.

ΕΤΕΡΑ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἡττήθησαν· ἐπικρατήσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδὼν φρουρὰν μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δουλεύουσαν. ἐλπίσαντες οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ

παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν ἥξειν
223 προσδοκῶντες τὸν τύραννον, ἐσκέψαντο τὰ πεπονηκότα μέρη τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπανορθώσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς τειχοποιοὶ προεβλήθησαν. τοιόνδε καὶ ἡ Πανδιονὶς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἵλετο πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τὸν ῥήτορα. τῆς τοίνυν ἐργασίας ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσδεηθεὶς ἔτι χρημάτων μετὰ τὰ δεδομένα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπάνησε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ κατεχαρίσατο. ταύτην ἀφορμὴν ὁ Κτησιφῶν, εἷς τῶν πολιτευομένων, δεξάμενος εἰσήνεγκε γνώμην ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην, "ἐπειδὴ διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ νῦν δὲ τειχοποιὸς ὢν καὶ προσδεηθεὶς χρημάτων οἴκοθεν παρέσχε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο, διὰ τοῦτο δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδιῶν ἀγομένων καινῶν," ἴσως ὅτε πλήθη συντρέχει ἐπιθυμοῦντα καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν. εἰσαγομένου τοίνυν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ἐφίσταται τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατήγορος Αἰσχίνης, ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπάρχων ἐχθρός, παράνομον εἶναι φάσκων πρὸς τρεῖς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμα, ἕνα μὲν τὸν κελεύοντα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, πρὶν ἂν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας· οὔπω δὲ ταύτας, φησίν, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐδεδώκει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ διοικῶν καὶ τειχοποιῶν, καὶ ἔδει ἀναμεῖναι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ γέρας, ἕως ἂν ὀφθῇ καθαρὸς ἐξετασθείς. δεύτερον δὲ ἀναγινώσκει νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐν Πυκνὶ στεφανοῦσθαι,
224 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς δεξαμένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορευθῆναι τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸν στέφανον· ὁ δὲ τρίτος νόμος εἰς τὴν ὅλην ὁρᾷ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέτασιν· κελεύει γὰρ μηδέποτε ψευδῆ γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μητρῷον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὅλα τὰ

δημόσια γράμματα. ἐψεύσατο δέ, φησίν, εὔνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν μαρτυρήσας τῷ Δημοσθένει· κακόνους γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ πολέμιος εὑρίσκεται τῇ πατρίδι. τούτου τοῦ νόμου χρησίμου τυγχάνοντος, τοῦ τρίτου, ἀντιλαβόμενος ὥς πέρ τινος ἀγκύρας ὁ ῥήτωρ κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἀντίδικον, μεθόδῳ δεινοτάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου χρησάμενος· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἔσχε λαβὴν ἑλεῖν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι τὸν πολέμιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τόν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέρριψε, στρατηγικῶς κακοὺς δ' εἰς μέσον ἐλάσας, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ διοικεῖν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος. δοκῶν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ὑπερβαίνειν τὸ νόμιμον, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τῷ νομίμῳ προσκέχρηται· καὶ γὰρ νόμον ἀνέγνω Αἰσχίνης τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων ψευδῆ, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀποκρινόμενος εὗρε καιρὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πολιτεύματα, ὡς νομίμῳ μαχόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη, κεφάλαιον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὲν Αἰσχίνῃ τὸ νόμιμον, τῷ δὲ ῥήτορι τὸ δίκαιον, κοινὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ συμφέρον, οὐκ ἔχον φανερὰν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἡ στάσις ἔγγραφος πραγματική· περὶ ῥητοῦ γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα. 225

Τῆς δὲ γραφῆς ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀποτεθείσης, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κρίσις. ὡς γὰρ ἀπέθανε Φίλιππος καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τεθαρσηκότες ἐξέβαλον, ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καταφρονηθεὶς τὰς Θήβας κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα μεταγνοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ἐξεχώρησε τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν κρίσει παραδοῦναι τοὺς

προδότας τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ οὕτω συνεκροτήθη τὸ δικαστήριον.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχο- 1
μαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ
226 τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι
παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ πέρ ἐστι
μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε
καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ
τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς 2
ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό
γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς
ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται τὸ
ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ
μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν
εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ
ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνι-
ζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ 3
τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
μεγάλα, ἓν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι·
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας
διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἑλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
μέν—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος
τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ.
ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν
μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως,
τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν 4
ὃ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν
ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλα-

*βουλόμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ,
οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ'
ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ
πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν
ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ· πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν 227
ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα
αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος
ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.*

5 *Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἂν
ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ
Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς
ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι
καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῳ τοῦτο
συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ
φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέ-
6 γιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ
ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦ-
σαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου
δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ
ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ
μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
7 τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὀμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν,
ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ
τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων
ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν
δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέ-
βειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια
εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον
καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν
ποιήσεται περὶ ἁπάντων.*

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, 8
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμέ-
νων, [βούλομαι] πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ
ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην εὔνοιαν
228 ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν,
τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,
ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν
κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παρα-
στῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς
γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν 9
Αἰσχίνης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος
εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον
τἆλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύ-
σατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα
βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν
πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις
ἠγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς
δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε- 10
βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ
δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος
ᾐτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ
ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-
σασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ
βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'

ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ᾽, ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον,
11 καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ᾽ ὤν, Αἰσχίνη,
τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πε-
πραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με
πρὸς τας λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ
ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν 229
τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες,
ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγε-
νημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ τουτοισί,
μνησθήσομαι.

12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν
ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι
τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις
αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοι-
δορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοι-
αῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν
εἰρημένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει
13 δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ᾽
ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ
τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν
ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀδικοῦντά
με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὖσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν
ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωριαις
παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας
ἄξια πράττοντά με ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ
γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ
γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι᾽ ἐμέ,

ἐμὲ δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν
ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέ- 14
βαλλε καὶ διεξῄει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με
ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ
230 ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι,
καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο
ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς 15
τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ'
αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον
χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφο-
ρήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει
δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντη-
κὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι
φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 16
τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος
ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν
λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ
μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ
δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ
ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ 17
τούτων ἄν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον
αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης
καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, ἃ τὰ μικρὰ
πεπραγμέν' ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς
ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ

προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε
τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα
καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι᾽ ἐμέ
(οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον
μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βού-
λεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶν- 231
τες, Θηβαίοις δ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ
ἀλόγως οὐδ᾽ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ
εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο·
ἔπειθ᾽ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ᾽
οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστ᾽
ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ᾽ οἱ πρότερον δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἄρ-
χοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος
καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις
19 καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν
ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀνα-
λίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐτάραττ-
τεν· εἶτ᾽ ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν,
αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς
δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε
μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ᾽ ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν
ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς, Φί-
λιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ
πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγ-
20 γείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν
ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἑκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ᾽ ἄγνοιαν εἴτε
καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν, οἵ, πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ
μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν

πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἑτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ
232 ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως,
αἴτια εὑρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας 21
ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἁγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνη κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.
ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς 22
τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἧκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἴην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξῄεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἠγανάκτησας ἢ παρελθὼν
ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ 23
μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν

ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοι-
πὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν
τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' 233
ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ
ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμέ-
νοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.
24 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα
ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου
πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν·
τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν
ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ
εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὔκουν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε
τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὂν
δείκνυται.

25 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις,
ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προ-
είλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν
ὁ Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράτ-
των ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ
μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλεύων ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίσ-
την τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα
Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμ-
βάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν
26 ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;

ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖσ-
τον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ'
234 ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς
ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν
εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς
τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές,
ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους
ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ
τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώ- 27
μενος ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα
τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾖ
Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμ-
βάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμ-
μάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρ-
ριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγ-
νοινθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαί-
ρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θρᾴκης κατασταίη, μηδὲ
πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν
εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχει-
ροίη πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ 28
ψήφισμ', οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ
προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾤμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου δια-
βάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν
γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχ-
θῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτον' αὐ-
τοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώ-
ρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς
πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι,
πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψή-

φισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.
λέγε.

29 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομ- 235
βαιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος,
Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλ-
ιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογου-
μένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἡ
ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις
ἑλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειρο-
τονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους,
ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρ-
κους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ
ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων
δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμά-
χους. πρέσβεις ᾑρέθησαν Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος,
Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημο-
κράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

30 Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει
συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-
τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν
Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος
ἐκ Θρᾴκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν
δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσ-
ποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας
τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
ἥψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὡρκίζομεν
αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ
ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία. 236

Τὸ *μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα* 31
μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων
ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ
νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι
τούτοις· ἕτερον δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μεῖζον
κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὤμοσε τὴν 32
εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θρᾴκην διὰ
τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν
ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακε-
δονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας
εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μή, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων
ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι,
ἐξέλθοιθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν
εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον,
ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν
κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς
ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ 33
πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ,
εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε
βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισ-
θοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὑτόν, τοιαῦτα
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ'
ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι 34
τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ
237 *κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς*
οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδέν' ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις
δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρη-
μένου ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγο-
ρουμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν 35

οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἥκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἐπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων.
36 ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν
37 ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγ- 238
κλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ'

ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν
ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἑκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον
τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦν-
τας. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος 38
ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον
ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω
ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ
ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ
τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων
ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων
ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἄφιδναν καὶ
Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

Ἆρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖ-
σθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;

Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος 39
μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων
Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἑκουσίως
239 προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγηοχότας
εἰς αὐτά, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες
καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ
ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν,
ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συν-
θέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ
συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν
συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις
οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

40 Ἀκούεθ᾽ ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους
ὅτι "ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ
λυπουμένων, ὥστ᾽ εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι
καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε,
ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε," οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι
γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι· τοι-
γαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ
μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν προορᾷν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ᾽ αἰσ-
θάνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον
ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις
41 συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύ-
της τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς
καὶ ὁ δεῦρ᾽ ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας
ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν
πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν
ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ
ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσ-
χίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτῆμ᾽ ἔχων ἐν
τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ
χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξῃτούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξ-
αντος. 240
42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα
μᾶλλον ἴσως ἁρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν
νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις
μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν

ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ
ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῄρηνθ' αἱ πόλεις αὐ-
τῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ 43
καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα
τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς·
οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν.
ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχε-
ραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι
ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν
πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἤλπισαν,
ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ
πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιιὼν Φίλιππος 44
Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ με-
γάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες
ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες,
ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο.
εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾐσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς
ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην 45
καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις
ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν
δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι,
241 τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμέ-
νων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ
δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων
ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων οἰομένων
τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ
ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. εἶτ' 46
οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολ-

λῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολω-
λεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἆλλα πλὴν ἑαυ-
τοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν
αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνο-
μάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς
47 ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἆλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐ-
δεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμ-
φέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν
ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ
περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν
εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα·
πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ
τῶν ταῦτ' ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονη-
ρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ
48 προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυ-
θεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ
τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. μέ-
χρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔ-
δωκεν Ὄλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώ-
λεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος καὶ Σῖμος ὁ
Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν.
εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ 242
πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί
δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Με-
49 γάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ'
ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν,
Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν
ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολ-

λοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις
βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ
διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50
πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκα-
νῶν εἰρῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν
τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς
νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρ-
ηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως, οἳ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὁτιοῦν
εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν 51
γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που
λέγων "ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί."
ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς
ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
φίλον εἴποιμ' ἂν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ
μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ
πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μι-
σθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολ- 52
λοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου
πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι
πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον
δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος
243 εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐ- 53
τῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν'
ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ
δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων
καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος

εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν
λαβών.

54 Γραφη. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος
ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπή-
νεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος
τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον
ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημο-
σθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς,
ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παια-
νιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων
διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον
τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ
πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός
ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ
55 γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων πρῶτον
μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλ-
λεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθέ-
νης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι
δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυ- 244
σίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφα-
νοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν
Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα.
κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέ-
ων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

56 Ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶ-
τον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως
ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος
τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκα-

στον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν 57
οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά
με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν
ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν
τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ
γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ
περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσή-
κοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα 58
"ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός
εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τού-
τοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον
εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.
οὑτωσὶ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς
τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ'
αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ 59
ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς
πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψη-
245 φίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με
καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν
ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λό-
γους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς.
εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας
τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ,
ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι
ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν 60
ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν
γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς

ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη,
ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον
ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα
61 ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ
τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ
δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη
γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδείς πω πρότερον μέμ-
νηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς
λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε,
τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα
τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ
ἑνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον
62 μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι
ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν
ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἑλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ
λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας
63 εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρό- 246
νημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετ-
ταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ
καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν
γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς
κωλύσει, καὶ προῃσθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ,
64 ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν
μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν
ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβού-
λετ' ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων

τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς
καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας
ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι,
ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θεί-
ημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, 65
χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς
ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ᾤχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων
μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας,
ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν
ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων
τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο,
μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς
οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ
πεισθέντες;

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰ- 66
σχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιπ-
πον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν.
247 τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς
συνῄδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας,
ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων
καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ
πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ
φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων 67
δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών,
ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομ-
μένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος
πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ

σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ
68 λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό
γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ
τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ,
τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε
τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς
τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ
θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα
θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλ-
ευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι
69 Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν
τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος
ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ'
ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως,
ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ'
οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχ- 248
ρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τἆλλ'
ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἁλόννησον·
70 οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον
καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις
ἠδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά
με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί,
Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν
περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὦ λέγων
71 εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῇς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων
ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος
καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν,
καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεόν,
καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν

Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείτ-
αρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος,
καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς
μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων,
πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει
καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί
τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν 72
Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ὀφ-
θῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι
μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργασται δ' ἡ
πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα
ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ
τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθη-
249 ναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπο-
λιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας
ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ
διδάσκων μὴ προΐεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73
λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ
ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου,
καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἴτιός
ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς Βοη-δρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὔβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγήοχεν εἰς

Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῇ
74 καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἳ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλ- 250
μένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

76 Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν

ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων 77
251 Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν 78
τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79
αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις

ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐγεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις 252
ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστη-
80 σεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις
81 εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὑτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν
82 πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασέ, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι· οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη

τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων
253 ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ
σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν
μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στε- 83
φανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ
γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἅσπερ
οὑτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος
ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης
παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε
καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, 84
γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεον-
τίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης
Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας
παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν
συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βε-
βοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ
Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνη-
ται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων
ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στε-
φανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως
τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν
254 καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ 85
πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευ-
ασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι.

ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾖ νέα καὶ γνώ-
ριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος
τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι
τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως
οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς
ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα
πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων
καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ
στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι
γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς
ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ'
ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει.
ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώ-
μεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος
γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Βυζαντίους συμ-
μάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολε-
μεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ'
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέ-
γοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει
88 καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ
γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ
ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν 255
ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς
ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ'
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.
τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ

πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἁπλῶς
ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ 89
μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ
λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε
ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν
πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέ-
ροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς
πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις
ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ
τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μετα-
δοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. Λέγε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ
τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περιν-
θίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσ- 90
πορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τᾷ ἁλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς
λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τοῖς
προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ
τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ
μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ
Φιλίππω τῶ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν
χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ᾽ ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ
Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαΐοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος,
256 βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι
καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἁμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ
ἀποκατέστατε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμως καὶ
τὼς τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων 91
Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ
οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βω-
λὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοι-
κεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τᾶν

λειτουργιᾶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶ δάμω τῶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τᾷ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνως ὡς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλλανες πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ. [Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ 257
ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

93 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τήν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἑωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ᾽ ἂν αἴσχιον

ἢ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ 94
καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95
Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε-
258 πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες 96
Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ

Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχ-
97 θέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὑτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὑτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν
98 δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ 259
οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογι-
99 σάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτῃ, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἄλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὔβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ.

ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε 100
καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἶτ' ἐγὼ 101
τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βου-
260 λομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐχ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἑξῆς 102
ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ'

ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς
103 παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἐᾶν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες
104 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ 261
νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκα-
105 σθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρα-

νόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον. 106

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

262 ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

Ἆρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, 107 ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ᾽ ἀδικούμενος παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριή-

ρης οὔτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ'
108 αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι
κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο.
τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν·
πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν
ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρ-
χίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ
κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι
πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα ἀφ'
ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον
τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες 263
οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς
109 πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνι-
κοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ
τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν
δίκαια εἱλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίπ-
που δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

110 Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ
κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς
τὰ ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ
καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-
μένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά
γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ
παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με
δεῖν, εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολι-
τευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς
ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω 111
διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων,
οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς
ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν
ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ
δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέ-
βαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυ-
νος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι
παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγ- 112
γειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύ-
θυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον
264 οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὢν τύχῃ.
τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισαν-
θρωπίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον
τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας
δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν
ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω,
κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, 113
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ
τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὢν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπῄνεσεν
αὐτόν φησιν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γε
οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ
συκοφάντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα. καὶ διά γε
τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τἀνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ
οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ
τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος
καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ'
ἔγραψεν ὅδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον 114
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν

ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὤν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ 265
115 *κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.*

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἴμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.

116 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λέγοντων βουλῆς γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγω-
266 νοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς 117
ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὧν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ 118
ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηΐδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,

καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις 267
τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι
τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

119 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν
σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων
γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν
τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-
των ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος
ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως
ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

120 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ᾽ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι,
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ
τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ
πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη,
ὥστ᾽ οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου-
μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν
ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέρ-
οντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ
ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν
προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλ-
λον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον
τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ᾽ αὐτόν μοι τὸν
νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. [Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς
ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους
τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ᾽ ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
Διονυσίοις (ἀναγορεύεσθαι).]

121 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς,
πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· 268

τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,
συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ
ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου
δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους
μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον
ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ 122
δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδε-
δωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν
ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημο-
τικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι
γιγνωσκομένους. βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων,
ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν,
οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. 123
ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι,
τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς
νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφη-
μίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ
ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς
προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπείληφα οὐχ ἵνα
συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς
τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχω-
μεν, ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα 124
τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν
ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα
ἔλαττον ἔχων δικαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ
ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πό-
τερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν
269 εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα οὗ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ
δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ

5—2

ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς,
125 ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὗ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῇ.

126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε
127 τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα
128 γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος 270
ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ,

προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούον-
τας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιού-
τοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129
εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ
πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς
τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας
ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς
γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἥρωι
χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν
ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων,
ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν
ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία
καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα
λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προῃρῆ-
σθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ 130
ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν,
ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε—, ὀψὲ
λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῴην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ
ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν
πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ
μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν
ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ
πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυ-
μίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως 131
οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύ-
271 θερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ του-
τουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ
μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ
ὧν μέν ἐστί τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς

πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φα-
νερῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.
132 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα
Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώ-
ρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος
ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος
εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ
κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἠτυ-
χηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδί-
133 ζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ
μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθο-
μένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβε-
βηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλ-
λαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ
τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν
ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώ-
σαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.
134 τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν
ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἧσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν,
ὡς προείλεσθε κἀκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν
ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην,
Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ
τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία 272
135 ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ'
ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. [Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἁπάν-
των οἵδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων
Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ

χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ
ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς
ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πό-
λεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος ἀπήλασεν ἡ βου-
λὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι
καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

Ἓν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ 136
νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατη-
γορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα
Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν
αὑτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς
ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦ-
σαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ
πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀνα-
στὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προὔ-
δωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς
οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνιστα-
μένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τἀναν-
τία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 137
ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν
Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ
273 τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῄει καὶ
ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κα-
τάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ'
ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. [Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλ-
λαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημο-
σθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσ-

χίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς
τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς
ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδό-
θησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσ-
ταμένου.]

138 Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ
παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν
ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους
τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπ-
ηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν
εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἣν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ
δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βου-
λομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑπο-
σκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις
ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλ-
λαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτευεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συν-
αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
πῶς γὰρ οὔ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βου- 274
λεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη
τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφι-
σβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος,
ὅ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος
οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν
οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ
ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφεροντων τῇ πόλει εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν
δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν.

καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς
πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γρά-
φειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον
ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἀρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα 140
ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν
ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἓν δ'
ἐπεξειργάσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον ὃ πᾶσι
τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν
διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές. τὸ δ'
οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τἀκεῖ
πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' *ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς* 141
θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι
τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Π*ύθιον, ὃς πα-*
τρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις,
εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ'
εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν
275 *μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἁπτόμενον (ἔγνων*
γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτη-
ρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ'
αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί *οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὑτωσὶ* 142
σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κεί-
μενα ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς
τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι,
μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος

ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαι-
πώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ᾽
143 ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι᾽ ὃν
εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι᾽ ὃν ᾑρέθη τῶν
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς ἅπαντ᾽ ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάν-
των εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότ᾽
εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ "πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσ-
χίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλή-
σεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐθαύ-
μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν
144 με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ᾽ ἡ φύσις, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν
ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ
πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε
πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν
τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ᾽
ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα- 276
λοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ
ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων
πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ
ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ᾽
146 εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ᾽ αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ᾽ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν
δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θη-
βαίων διιέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρα-

τοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατ-
ηγούς (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου
καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν 147
οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς
Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' [ἂν]
ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων
κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε
τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπι-
χειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμ-
φικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ
ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὑτοῦ δεήσεσθαι.
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων 148
ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό
τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θη-
βαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι,
ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ᾖ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ
τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς
οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ 149
προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος,
ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προ-
277 βληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων
χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς
πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφι-
κτύονας, πάντα τἆλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν
ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ
μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς
καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ
μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει 150
ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμ-
φισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος

δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ᾐτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν
Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος προφασί-
ζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ
ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς
δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλή-
τευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα,
δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει
151 ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιιόντων τοίνυν τὴν
χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν
τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόν-
τισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερο-
μνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ
πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε
στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες
οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν
Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι
καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
152 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλή-
φεσαν· ἢ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν 278
ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας,
ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ᾑρέθη
γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως
δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρ-
ραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λο-
153 κροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ
μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν
τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό
γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μέν, ὦ

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 154

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ
279 τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐα- 155
ρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ᾑρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ. [*Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.*]

156 *Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν.* **λέγε.**

157 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. [*Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πε-* 280
λοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῴου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα[, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις] ἐπιζημίοις. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

158 *Ὁρᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ*

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἑνός τοιαῦτα
πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ
θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὑτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τἀ- 159
ληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν
ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἁπάντων
εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων τόπων πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα
παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὃν
281 ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυ-
μάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ'
ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντι-
ούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν
μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ
ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ
τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη- 161
βαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου
φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις ὃ μὲν
ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεό-
μενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας
καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ
τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως
τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ
τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπο-
λαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν 162
Εὔβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι
ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις
ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὓς σὺ

ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις,
τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ
Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾷς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν
163 συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι,
ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιή-
σαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνερ-
γῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν
Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὗπερ ἕνεκα τὰς πόλεις 282
οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν,
οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω
προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκού-
σαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε
ταῦτα λαβών.

164 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθηΐδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἃς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ᾑρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μου- 165
νυχιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φί-
λιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλ-
λεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ
στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγ-
283 νεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας
αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ
παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως
ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ
κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ
βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος,
καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. 166

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἣν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ἄν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων 167
Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν
ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέν- 284
τοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτι-
μίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ'
αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατε-
γίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι
καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς
ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ
ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον
ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύ-
σασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω
ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρ-
ρωσθε.]

168 *Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἧκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα.*

169 *Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἧκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς*

285 τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπο-
ρεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβου-
λεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 170
ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ
προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον
κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ "τίς ἀγορεύειν
βούλεται;" παρῄει δ' οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυ-
κος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἁπάν-
των μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν
ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς
τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἣν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πα-
τρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι· καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς 171
σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,
πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι
αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ
τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνους
τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας
ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ'
ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ 172
ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα
ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα
ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ
γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ
εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ
τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἕξειν συμβου-
λεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, 173
καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ'

ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε 286
ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν
τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν
ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς
174 πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν
ὅτι "τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ
"λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ'
"ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν
"ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ'
"ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἕτοιμα
"ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι.
175 "ὡς δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος
"ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι
"ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀν-
"θεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς
"πεῖσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα
"τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας
"καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
"ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους
"καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν
176 "οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρη-
"σόμεθ' ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον
"πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι
"καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι
"μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσο-
"μεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀν-
"θεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππι- 287
"σάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν

“μέντοι πεισθῆτ᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ
“φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ
“δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ
“πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν 177
“παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φο-
“βεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δει-
“νῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν
“ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ᾽ ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς ἐν
“ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν
“τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ
“ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ
“τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φι-
“λίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ᾽ ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις
“ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζε-
“σθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοη-
“θήσετ᾽, ἐάν τις ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτο- 178
“νῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους
“κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βα-
“δίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἔλθωσιν
“οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγ-
“ματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν.
“μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός)
“ἀλλ᾽ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὡς
“ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον
“ἢ ᾽κεῖνοι προορωμένων, ἵν᾽ ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα
“καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διῳκη-
288 “μένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως
“ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν,
“ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτά-
“νωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ

179 *“πεπραγμένον.”* Ταῦτα *καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτ’, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ’ ἔγραψα μὲν οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ’ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ* Θηβαίους· *ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ’ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους.* Καί *μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.*

180 Καίτοι *τίνα βούλει σέ,* Αἰσχίνη, *καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις,* Βάτταλον, *σὲ δὲ μηδ’ ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς,* Κρεσφόντην *ἢ* Κρέοντα *ἢ ὃν ἐν* Κολλυτῷ *ποτε* Οἰνόμαον *κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ* Παιανιεὺς *ἐγὼ* Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου *τοῦ* Κοθωκίδου *σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ’, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον.* Λέγε *τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.*

181 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ [ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος
Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιρο-
φοριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παι- 289
ανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς
ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς
γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις
παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθη-

ναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ
προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας 182
πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατα-
λύει τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς
ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ
ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν
οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ
παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυ-
τοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως
μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν 183
βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος
ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν
Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστά-
τους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς
τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατα-
δουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 184
Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι
τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων,
καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ
πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν δια-
τηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς
τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν,
καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς
ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ
πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων
πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς
ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλα- 185
γέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος,
οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς
πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρή-

μασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι
186 δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα
187 πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναί- 29
ων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

188 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ
189 νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον

ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὑτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ᾽ ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ 190
εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γάρ ἔσθ᾽ ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ᾽ ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ᾽ ἔστι
292 μήτε ἦν μήτ᾽ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; τοῦ- 191
το τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων," οὐδὲ "τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ᾽ ἔσεσθαι." σοῦ δ᾽ ἀφώνου κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἢ λόγος ὅντιν᾽ ἐχρῆν εὑπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ᾽ ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν 192
ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ᾽ ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν

προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμ-
βάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ
δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις
193 αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ
τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη
Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος
ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ'
ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἱλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα
καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν,
ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνε-
στησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ'
194 ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ
μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις 293
ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατα-
σκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθή-
σεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων
αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς
ναυαγίας αἰτιῷτο. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς
195 τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ'
ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγω-
νιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν προσ-
δοκᾶν εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλὰ
Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας
ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίν-
δυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που
τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι
χρῆν; ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀνα-

πνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν
τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον
εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ
καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 196
ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν
καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατά-
πτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν
γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ
τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων,
τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς
294 ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον
ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον 197
γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ'
ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι),
ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα
συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπο-
λογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὔθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων
(οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσι-
μον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλό-
τατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο
πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα
Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ
καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρί-
νουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους
κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχή- 198
ματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον
οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ
συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως

ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

199 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' 295
οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε
200 λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ. τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου Φιλίππῳ, προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὅντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ;
201 μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ᾑρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε

χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
καλῶν κίνδυνον ᾑρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλή- 202
νων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ
παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως
μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ
πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ
τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
προεστάναι; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ᾽, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε 203
Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ᾽ ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ᾽ ἔμφυτα, οὐδ᾽
ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ
πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ᾽
ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης
296 κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ 204
ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις
ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ᾽ εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ᾽ ἐπαινεῖτε.
εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεί-
νων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμ-
βουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι,
τὸν δ᾽ ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.
οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε 205
στρατηγὸν δι᾽ ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ζῆν
ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ᾽ ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ

μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

206 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί
207 φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων 297
ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνω-
208 μοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας,

οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα
τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας
αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ
μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται,
τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ
κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, 209
σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας
ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας
καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ
παρὼν ἀγὼν οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ τριταγωνιστά, περὶ
τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ
τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει;
τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν
298 ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ 210
τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς
δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου
συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοπ-
οῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν
προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμ-
βάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ
φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ,
ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴ περ ἄξια
ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς 211
προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην
καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐν-
ταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμ-
βάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμε-

τέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν
212 εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. 299

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἆλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασ-

θησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον.
ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν 214
ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215
ποντο. ἐξῄτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τἀν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
300 *καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἓν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὑτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες*
ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' 216
ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς

*πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν,
οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυ-
μαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ
προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγ-
νοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς*
217 *θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε
ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων
ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευ-
φραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων
καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο,
πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὧν ὡς
ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας,
ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι,
τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς* 301
*οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς
ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; Λέγε δὴ
καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.*

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 *Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι
δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει
τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον
οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί.
ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν
οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμ-
πεν. καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ἡ ἐμὴ
συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.*

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γε- 219
γόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλ-
λίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύ-
βουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε
τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει,
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσ-
βεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκα-
στος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥᾳστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ',
ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερ- 220
ῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ
ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι
τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει
μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφα-
λείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παρα-
302 *λείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ* 221
ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσ-
μην μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα,
μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσ-
βεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα
ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222
Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς
καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος
λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ του-
τωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος
Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι
λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευ-
γότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

223 *Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς
αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρό-
τερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν
οὑτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε
τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν
Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην,
εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως*
224 *ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγ-
κεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ
τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ
γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μη-* 303
*κέτ' ἐᾶν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ
πολλὰ ἕτερα. τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ'*
225 *αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν
οἶμαι τότε ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ
ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προῄδει
μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν,
καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ
τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις*
226 *δοκεῖν τι λέγειν· οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν
καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάν-
τες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ
πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα
νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευ-
μένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν,
οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.*

227 *Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν
οἴκοθεν ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι,*

ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογί-
ζησθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ,
συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινο-
μένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πε-
πραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παρα- 228
δείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσ-
μένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ'
ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει
304 μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ
ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μετα- 229
θέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως,
οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων
οὗτος λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βρα-
χέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατ-
ηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου
συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' 230
ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ
δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτακόσια
στάδι' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις
γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ
ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ
θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν
Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον,
συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖ-
νον. ἆρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς 231
φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι;
καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν

οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν
ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρω-
πίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλ-
λόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρ-
ποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.
232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκο-
φαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, 305
παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα
μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ
διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ
233 παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει,
τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ'
εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῄειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων. εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις,
παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ
μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο
πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως
χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.
234 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας,
οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ
Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρη-
μάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τά-
λαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δ',
ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ
φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι
παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ
235 φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὸ

μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάντων· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν, ἃ δόξειεν
306 αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦ- 236
τον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προὐτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ 237
τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, 238
Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦ-

σθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβου-
λεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑωρᾶτο
(αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ
κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ
διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν
239 παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ
συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷ' ἐχρῆν 307
πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν
ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας
καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσ' ἐβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη
τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ
ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος
καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.
240 Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας
ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου ἀκρι-
βολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο
Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυ-
ζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν
241 τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδό-
θησαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι;
εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς
καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων λῃστῶν γέγονεν;
οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις
242 ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ
συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλ-
αίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν
ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον,

αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παρά-
σημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει
πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων;
ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν 243
308 εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται
τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ
νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα
διεξίοι "εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσί,
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν." ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἧτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς ἐφ' 244
ᾗ στένειν σε ὦ κατάρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν
παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὑτωσὶ δὲ
λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμ-
φθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ
Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ
'Αμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ 'Ιλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν
βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν,
οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν
οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ. 245
καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἴς τε μαλακίαν σκώπ-
των καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα
κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ
ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἑκάστου ψυχῆς,
οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρα-
τηγίας ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ.
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν 246
ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν
ἐστι ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ
προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα

πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας
ὄκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι
πρόσεστιν ἁπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' 309
ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰς ὁμό-
νοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν
προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ
247 οὐδεὶς μή ποθ' εὕρῃ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ
τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὁντινοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιπ-
πος ὧν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε
κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν
κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ
διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου·
ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν
πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε
τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.
248 Ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως
τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς
ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ δ'
οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν
μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα
ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς
ἐμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν
τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας
τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ'
ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν
φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ
τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἱρούμενος 310
249 σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ

μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
ὀμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν 250
ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251
μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔδαιμόν
311 γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦτον,

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν
ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ'
ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὡμολόγημαι μηδὲν
εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.
252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνω-
μοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ'
ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν,
ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνό-
ητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἣν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων
καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοι-
αύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέ-
γειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς
πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται
τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρή-
σατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ
253 περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν
τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ
καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν
μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλε-
πὴν καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων
254 οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ
μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰη-
θέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ
διάξειν αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης
τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ 312
πάνθ' ὡς ἠβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος
255 μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην
τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις
ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὑτωσὶ

περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ
δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν
ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι,
τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης.
καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, 256
Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν
εὕρῃς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορού-
μενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καί μου
πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς.
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ᾽ εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν
ἡγοῦμαι, οὔτ᾽ εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ
σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ
βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους
ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν
δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257
προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν
μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι᾽ ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ
ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν,
τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμίας φιλοτιμίας μήτε
ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς
τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα
313 ἑλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ
μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ᾽ ἦν ἃ προει-
λόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμ- 258
βεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ᾽ ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ᾽ εἰπεῖν περὶ
αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα

ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι· σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ
διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ
τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς
ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ
προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογ-
γίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ
259 ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ
τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἆλλα συν-
εσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων
καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ
πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ-
αρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμει-
νον," ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι
260 σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ'
αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ
ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιά-
σους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ
μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλί-
βων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ
σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης,
ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιστοφόρος καὶ λικνο-
φόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευό- 314
μενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπ-
τοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς
261 αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ
δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ
τοῦτο, ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον
ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν
τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου,
πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ

κατῄσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ
μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας αὑτὸν τοῖς βαρυ- 262
στόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ
καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς
καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
τρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν
ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν
γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς
πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως
τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς
σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτι- 263
άσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδι-
οῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν,
ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν
εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς
καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς
σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ
ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις 264
χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος
παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν
315 ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ
ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη,
πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ 265
βεβιωμένα, πρᾴως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώ-
τησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ' ἕκα-
στος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.
ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ'
ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν.

ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πε-
266 πολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ
τἆλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφα-
νωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνω-
μολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπ-
άρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ'
ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος
τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γε, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τύχῃ συμβεβιω-
κὼς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν
λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι
καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας

καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα
οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην
καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

268 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν
δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλ-
άνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ 316
οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων
οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε
τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα.
269 ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι
πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλε-

λῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικρο-
ψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου· τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας
εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν
ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον
οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημ-
μαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ 270
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ
νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι
τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βού-
λει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδε- 271
πώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ
πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ'
ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιό-
τερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἁπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων
χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι;
σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπο- 272
λιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ
317 ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι,
καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐ-
τοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν
ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ 273
παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν
κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προὐτίθει σκοπεῖν,
πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα
σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων

καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε
πραττομένοις ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώ-
μενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον),
πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκα-
274 λῶν, ὧν τότ᾽ οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν
τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ᾽ ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ
τις ἑκών; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξή-
μαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας
τούτῳ. οὔτ᾽ ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ
πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε
μεθ᾽ ἁπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοι-
275 ούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦ-
τα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρω-
πίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον
ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὠμότητι καὶ
συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων
ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
276 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ
μετ᾽ εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν
ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι 318
μηδ᾽ ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ
τὰ προσόνθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως
ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς
ποτ᾽ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι
γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον
277 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κἀκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ᾽,
ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ᾽

ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ
πλεῖστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ
πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ᾽ εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε
φρονεῖν. εἰ δ᾽ οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία
τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὑρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ᾽ ὑμῶν
οὐδ᾽ ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τοὐναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ
λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ
τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ
γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει,
χρῆται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ᾽ 278
ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολί-
την δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικα-
στὰς ἀξιοῦν αὑτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς
ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ᾽ ἐν
τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως δια-
κείμεν᾽ ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολι-
τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι
κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναν-
τίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου
καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώ- 279
319 ποτε δημοσίου, προσθησω δὲ μηδ᾽ ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώ-
σαντα λαβεῖν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ μήθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
μήθ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν
ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνη-
λωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας
ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς
πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ᾽ ἥκειν
καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, 280
Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βου-

λόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὕσ-
281 περ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχήν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἱλόμην τουτοισί,
282 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἆρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταὐτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν
283 οὗτος εὑρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ 320
τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας
284 ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως

ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί
σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος
τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφά-
σεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας
ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν
οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέ-
ροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερῶς αὐτὸς
εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ
τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζεις
ταῦτα, ὧν παντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285
καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ
ἠμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος
τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ
συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ
εὔφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν
εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα,
ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους
321 ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγο-
ρούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορου-
μένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον 286
οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι κἀγώ. ἀμ-
φότερ' ᾔδεσαν αὐτοί, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προ-
θυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν
ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν
ἡ πόλις ὡμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς
μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγε-
νῆσθαι. εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν 287

ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων
ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμό-
σπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παρα-
ταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν
ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτο-
χείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ
τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην,
ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν —' τοῦτο δ' ἑώρων παρ'
ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. διὰ ταῦτ'
288 ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν
δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ
ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς
ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ
περίδειπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων,
ὥσπερ τἆλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ'
ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλ-
λον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω·
ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα 322
διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελον τῆς
ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχεν.
289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ
προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῇς Αἰσ-
χίνη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ
συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ
οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις·
μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν,
ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, "μηδὲν 290
ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν·" οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα 291
κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ'
323 ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε
τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολι- 292
τείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι
βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' 293
ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ

*πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν
τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα
φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ
οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει,
οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν
ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.*

294 *Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα
ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς
γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί
οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ
πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,
τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας
ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ
δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἑκάστῃ* 324
295 *τῶν πόλεων εὕροιτ' ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἳ ὅτ' ἦν
ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά,
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων
καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσ-
χροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς
ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ δια-
φθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάο-
χος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἱερώνυ-
μος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνα-
σέας, Ἠλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχμος,
Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες
Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος
Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρατος, Με-
γαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἕλιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους
Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἵππαρχος*

Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἡ 296
ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες
εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν
ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρω-
ποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηρια-
σμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλ-
εξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις
τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα
ἔχειν δεσπότην αὑτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν
ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοή- 297
325 του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ
ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευο-
μένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων,
ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου
νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλαν- 298
θρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπὶς
οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο
ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν
προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε του-
τοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ
λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγ-
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα
ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' 299

ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ
μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος
καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που
τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις
ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ
τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν
ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις
ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς
καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομέ-
300 νους. ταῦτα προὐβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττι-
κῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τού-
τοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ
Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ 326
τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ
καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις;
ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.
301 Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης
τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο-
πόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτο-
πομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πει-
302 ραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα
καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερ-
ρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμ-
μαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον,
τὴν Εὔβοιαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν

δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 303
ναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὑρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἧκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα
327 ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί
Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ 304
τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἕνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν,
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ 305
πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν 306
κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως

*προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τό γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν
περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ
τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν*
307 *οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀπο-
στάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ'
αὑτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς
ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν
πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ
γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ
τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν,
οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὃ σὺ*
308 *ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ* 328
*συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν
ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν
αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυ-
λάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος
ἤ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο
τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τἀνθρώπινα)· εἶτ' ἐπὶ
τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας
ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ συνει-
λοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς
καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ'
ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι*
309 *τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης
τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴ περ ἐκ
ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμ-
φέροντα προῃρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους
καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας
πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν,*

νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχ-
θροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν 310
τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν
χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ,
ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ
δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ
ἕκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν ἐπί γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς
ηὐξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε 311
τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης;
329 τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντι-
μοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενι-
κῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριή-
ρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ
τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρή-
σιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολι-
τικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', 312
ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία;
ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε
ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος,
εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀρισ-
τόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε
οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν,
πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος
τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων,
διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγε-
μόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηρ-
αρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων 313
τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα.
ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων
δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι

παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν
οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ
τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημο-
νικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.
314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν
ἐστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτη-
κότας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν 330
πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν
315 νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων
ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ
ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ
φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι
καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ'
ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα
βούλει τῶν ταὐτά σοι προῃρημένων καὶ ζώντων.
316 κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ
πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας
ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς
ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν
καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ'
εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλαν-
317 θρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με
εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἄν τις
ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν
ὁμοία καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ
ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων·
δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες οἱ δια-
σύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενη-

μένους ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποι-
οῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 318
ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;
ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα
φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν,
331 ὥσπερ τἆλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς,
τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ 319
Καρυστίου καί τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων
ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς
Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῄει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνη-
γορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας,
πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλει τῶν ἁπάντων·
οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτισ- 320
τα ἑλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων
ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις
καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν
οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων
ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ
τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων καὶ τῶν
κολακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα
σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμ-
πρὸς ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ'
εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 321
ναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω
γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον
εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ

τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν,
ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου
γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν
ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρή-
322 σετε ἁπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ
Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλο-
μένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία 332
μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν
εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ
δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἱλόμην, τὰς τιμάς,
τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος
323 θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ
ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ
γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν
προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε
ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν
πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν
γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν
διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὑτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν
τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχη-
σάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπ-
αινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασι
δεῖν τηρεῖν.
324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν
ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω
τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν
ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις
καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ
τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρ-
τημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

§§ 1—9 **Exordium : opening address to the Dicasts.** *I ask for a fair hearing, which the laws appoint for every man when speaking in self-defence; and that is what Aeschines forces me to do really, though I am nominally defending Ctesiphon.*

1 **πρῶτον μέν** followed by *ἔπειτα* without *δέ*, is frequently found in Demosthenes and others, cp. § 8. See Madvig, § 188 R. 5. So also *μάλιστα μέν* § 267, cp. *εἶτα* § 153. **πᾶσιν ὑμῖν** Aeschines (*in Ctes.* § 56) tells us that a greater number of Athenian citizens and foreigners attended to hear this trial than had ever been known to come to any public suit within the memory of man. **διατελῶ ἔχων** 'which I have always entertained, and still continue to entertain.' **εὐσεβείας** It concerned their piety on account of the oath they had taken, cp. *in Tim.* § 151 *ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν*, and Aesch. *Ctes.* 6 *ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὅρκῳ "ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους."* **παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν** 'that the gods may suggest to you,' depending on *τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι*, but the subject of the infinitive is repeated because of the distance from the main clause, and becomes accusative in spite of *τοῖς θεοῖς* from the effect of the infinitive; cf. Herod. 6. 35 *ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι.* For **παραστῆσαι** cp. § 8. The intransitive *παραστῆναι*=*subesse menti* cp. 1 *Phil.* § 17 *δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆναι.*

2 **τὸν ἀντίδικον** 'my opponent,' the word is applied to the party opposed to the speaker whether prosecutor or defendant. Strictly it belonged to the latter. **τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν** 'the absence of all prejudice on either side.' **τῇ τάξει... ἀπολογίᾳ** 'the arrangement and subject-matter of his pleading'; *τάξις* here, as in § 56, alludes to the order of topics which each party might choose to adopt. *ἀπολογία* is used generally, as applicable either to the plaintiff or defendant. The whole passage refers to Aeschines (*in Ctes.* 202—206) who had begged the Dicasts not to give Demosthenes a hearing, if he did not

stick to the points proper to the charge and take them in the same order as he had done. **ἴσην** 'in an impartial manner,' predicative adjective.

3 **περὶ τῶν ἴσων** 'with equal interests at stake,' *περὶ* indicates that for which the contest is, as Arist. *Vesp.* 376 *περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν.* **ἐκ περιουσίας** 'but Aeschines accuses me at a great advantage,' lit. 'from a surplus.' He means that Aeschines has no popular esteem to lose, as he has. Cp. Thuc. 5, 103 *τοὺς ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους ἐλπίδι* 'those who hope with something in reserve,' i.e. they do not depend on what they are hoping for; it is a mere extra. Comp. also Dem. *c. Steph.* I. 67 *οἱ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί·* where there are two meanings (1) the unnecessarily wicked, (2) those who are wicked without the excuse of poverty: see also Thuc. 8, 46, 5. Dissen translates *ἐκ περιουσίας* '*ex mera insolentia*,' but this destroys the antithesis to *πολλὰ...ἐλαττοῦμαι* and *ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν.* **ἕτερον δέ** sc. *ἐλαττοῦμαι.*

4 **πρὸς ἡδονήν** 'pleasurable.' **πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν** 'almost every one,' Lat. '*prope dixerim omnes.*' **ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν** 'to use a single word,' 'to speak in round numbers.' This phrase qualifies such words as *πᾶς, οὐδείς.* Its opposite, 'to speak precisely,' is *ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ.* Cp. Plat. *Rep.* 341 B. **λοιπὸν** sc. *ἐστι* =*λείπεται.* **ἐμαυτῷ** dat. of the agent after perf. pass. see *Classical Review* vol. III. p. 250. **τὰ κατηγορημένα** 'the articles of impeachment,' *κατηγορεῖν* like *accusare* may='to state in accusation.' So *κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως...οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει μαρτυρεῖν* Lys. 7 § 21. **ἃ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι** 'my achievements and my political career,' 'what I have done and what I have aimed at doing as a politician,' or by hendiadys, 'what my achievements as a politician have been.'

5 **ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί** 'deserving of zealous attention on my part.' Compare a similar use of the dative in Eurip. *Hec.* 309 *ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄξιος τιμῆς, γυναί.*

πάντων ἀποστερεῖσθαι 'to be cheated of *any*thing,' 'loss in every case,' not 'the loss of everything.' **ὅσῳ περ** 'exactly in proportion as.'

6 **περὶ τούτων**, § 3. **δικαίως** belongs to *ἀκοῦσαι.* **τῷ γράψαι** 'by the fact of his having reduced them to writing.' **ὁ τιθεὶς... Σόλων** all the ancient laws found on *κύρβεις* etc. were attributed to Solon; the phrase must not be pushed too closely. Cf. Arist. *Nub.* 1190 *ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν.* Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 168. **δημοτικός**, something more than 'patriotic': 'a friend of the democracy,' 'a lover of equality,' § 122. The two elements of democracy were *ἰσηγορία* and *παρρησία*, entire equality before the law, and the right of free speech.

7 **παρελθεῖν** 'to overcome,' 'get the better of': literally, 'to pass by' in a race, therefore appropriately used in connexion with *ὁ διώκων* and *τῷ φεύγοντι*. Arist. *Equit.* 278 *ἢν δ' ἀναιδείᾳ παρέλθῃς, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς.* **ἴσον καὶ κοινόν** 'fair and impartial,' so *in Boeot.* § 32 *ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἐστὲ κοινοὶ καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν τριάκοντα παῖδας φυγαδεῦσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἠξιώσατε.*

8 **παρακαλέσαι** 'to summon' as it were my coadjutors (*fautores*) into court. See on § 143. **πρῶτον μὲν...ἔπειθ'**, cp. § 1 and 267. **παραστῆσαι** 'that they (the gods) will put it into your mind,' cp. § 1.

9—53. Refutation of charges foreign to the main question (*ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς*). § 9. *Aeschines forces me to speak of myself no less than of Ctesiphon.*

9 **περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε ..κατηγόρησεν** 'if he had confined the allegations of his speech to the limits of the ostensible charge which he was bringing.' **κατεψεύσατό μου** 'belied me.' *κατά* in composition takes genitive of the person against whom. Madv. § 59. **τῶν...ἀκούῃ μου**, obs. *ἀκούειν* with double gen. *ἀκούειν τί τινος* is 'to hear something that some one says,' but when it is not the actual words, but the subject *about which* that is meant, the gen. is also used, cp. Lys. 14 § 23 *ἧς (πονηρίας) ἄξιον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι.* Aristoph. *Ach.* 306 *τῶν ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.* Clyde § 72 f. **τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων** 'the technical pleas in answer to the indictment.' For a double sense of *τὰ δίκαια* cp. *de Rhod.* § 25 *ἄτοπόν ἐστι περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ ποιοῦντα τὰ δίκαια* 'it is absurd that he should plead the *rights of the case* when he himself does not fulfil his rightful obligations.' Demosthenes says that he must first answer the personal abuse, or his hearers will come to the consideration of technical points with minds prejudiced. **ἀλλοτριώτερον** 'with more alienated feelings' from the influence of these extraneous arguments. **ὑπέρ** Demosthenes often uses *ὑπέρ* in cases where we should find *περί* in other writers; and sometimes both *ὑπέρ* and *περί* in the same sentence with no perceptible difference of meaning. See for instance *Fals. Leg.* 107 (96).

§§ 10—11 *I rest my defence on my public policy, and my opponent's personal abuse shall not induce me to omit that.*

10 **ἀναστάντες** 'standing up,' as a sign that you are ready to give your vote without hearing more. Like an English jury stopping the case. **καταψηφίσασθε** 'give your vote against me.' Not that Demosthenes was technically on his trial. He was however practically so. The opposite is *ἀποψηφίσασθε*. *Mid.* § 204. **βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων** 'a better man and

of a better family.' The appeal to a man's ancestors was common, cp. Lysias 10 § 23 *ἀλλ' ὅτι βελτίων καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων ὁ φεύγων ἐμοῦ*; the opposite is *πονηρὸς κἀκ πονηρῶν* Arist. *Eq.* 186. Cp. *Ran.* 732 *καὶ πονηροῖς κἀκ πονηρῶν εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμεθα.* Lys. 13 § 18 *δοῦλος καὶ ἐκ δούλων.* **τῶν μετρίων** 'men of moderate character or position,' 'respectable people.' The word is usually employed of things, not persons, cp. § 165. **ἐπαχθές** 'offensive,' 'invidious.' **ἐπλάττετο** 'he was inventing them for himself.'

11 **κακοήθης δ' ὢν...εὔηθες ᾠήθης** 'but malicious as you are, Aeschines, there was as great folly as malice in this idea.' The paronomasia or jingle of similar syllables is to be noticed, of rare occurrence in Demosthenes. Westermann quotes *Mid.* § 207 *εἰ κακῶς ἐμὲ βούλει ποιεῖν Εὔβουλε.* For the degraded meaning of *εὐήθης* which has come to mean 'silly' from the primary meaning of 'well-disposed,' cp. our own words 'innocent,' 'simple,' 'silly' (blessed). Thucydides notes the deterioration of meaning at the time of the Peloponnesian war, 3, 83, 1 *τὸ εὔηθες οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη.* The same use of *εὖ* in composition in a questionable sense occurs § 70 *ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουλήθῃς.* **οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι** 'I am not so infatuated,' probably connected with *τῦφος* (cp. *τυφ-λό-ς* 'blind'), smoke, mist; though Harpocration gives several other derivations. See Shilleto on *Fals. Leg.* 241 (219). **πομπείας** 'ribaldry,' such as was used in the Dionysian processions, like the *γεφυρισμὸς* on the bridge during the sacred procession from Athens to Eleusis, § 122. Cp. the practice in Rome of the license taken by slaves at festivals, and by soldiers in triumphal processions, and the modern Carnivals. Suidas quotes Menander

> *ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν εἰσὶ πομπεῖαί τινες*
> *σφόδρα λοίδοροι.*

ἀνέδην 'loosely,' 'recklessly,' *immissis habenis*, from *ἀνίημι.* **ἂν βουλομένοις...ᾖ** Madv. § 38 (d).

§§ 12—16 *Aeschines accuses me of most heinous crimes, which he was bound to have prosecuted directly, not by such a side blow as this. He has shirked this straightforward course, and visited our personal feuds upon another.*

12 **μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας** 'great, or rather the greatest.' For this *καὶ* correcting and amplifying, rather than simply coupling, cp. Thucyd. 7, 12 *ἀντιπάλους καὶ πλείους* 'equal or superior.' ib. 19, 2 *παραπλήσιον καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον* 'about the same or not much more.' ib. 42, 2 *ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον* 'the same or nearly so.' ib. 80, 3 *τὸ ἥμισυ μάλιστα καὶ πλέον* 'about half or even more.' See also §§ 104, 130, 179.

ἐπήρεια, or ἐπηρεασμός, defined by Arist. *Rhet.* II. ii. 3 as that kind of spite which thwarts another, *οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ*, such as that of the dog in the manger.

οὐκ ἔνι...δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν 'the state cannot take an adequate vengeance.' The Scholiast remarks that the meaning of the Orator is not clear. He seems to mean that in this case, as he is not technically the defendant, all that can befall him is a loss of reputation by the condemnation of Ctesiphon; and that is a wholly inadequate punishment, supposing the charges of Aeschines to be true.

13 **οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι** 'for a man ought not to try to deprive another of the right of appearing before the people, nor to do so by using expressions of personal insult or by exciting prejudice,—no, by heaven! it is neither straightforward, nor constitutional, nor equitable.' The relevancy of the passage will appear by comparing the words of Aeschines to which Demosthenes is referring (*in Ctes.* 203). Aeschines had anticipated that Ctesiphon would ask to call on Demosthenes to give his testimony, and had warned the jurors that, if they allowed him to do so, they would be acting against the interests of the state, considering the character of Demosthenes which he had just described. It is this which Demosthenes is answering. He says that to thus prevent a man's getting a hearing by loading him with personal abuse is not a straightforward way of conducting a case, is not what one member of a free state should do to another, is not equitable in itself. **πολιτικὸν** is a difficult word to translate, it is not fully represented either by 'patriotic' or 'constitutional,' though it includes both ideas. It is the conduct proper to a *πολίτης*, a member of a lawfully constituted state, especially in regard to other *πολῖται*. So also *πολιτεία* 'the conduct of a citizen,' Lysias 7 § 30.

ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει, an hendiadys for *τραγικῶς διεξῄει*, 'such as he has just now been detailing in such tragic language.' There is of course a hit at the dramatic profession of Aeschines. but the word is commonly used of exaggerated language, without any such direct allusion.

παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα 'at the time when the offences themselves were committed': § 15 *τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους*. **εἰσαγγελίας** The distinction between *δίκη*, *γραφή*, and *εἰσαγγελία* is as follows, *δίκη*, primarily, *any legal proceeding whatsoever*, then in a more limited sense *a civil action*; *γραφή*, an action in which *the state* appears as a party injured, immediately (*γραφὴ δημοσία*) or mediately (*γραφὴ ἰδία*); *εἰσαγγελία*, a form of proceeding against offences not provided for by statute, 'impeachment' before the Boulè or Ecclesia, or any

court appointed by them. **εἰ δὲ γράφοντα...γραφόμενον** 'if he saw me proposing any illegal measures, he should have indicted *me* for illegal proposition.'

οὐ δήπου, *nisi forte*, introduces an absurd or impossible supposition. 'For it cannot be, surely, that he is capable of prosecuting Ctesiphon on my account, and yet would have abstained from indicting myself, if he had thought that he could convict me.' Cp. Lysias 10 § 8 *οὐ γὰρ δήπου εἴ τίς σ' εἴποι ...ἠξίους ἂν αὐτόν σοι ὀφλεῖν δίκην, εἰ δέ τις εἴποι κ.τ.λ.*

14 **καὶ μήν** 'nay more,' introduces an emphatic confirmation of a previous argument, but from another point of view. Cp. Lysias 12 § 27.

διέβαλλε καὶ διεξῄει, cp. *ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει.* Westermann observes that both *διέβαλλε* and *ἐτραγῴδει* really have the force of adverbs qualifying *διεξῄει.*

ὁπηνίκα ... τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ 'it could only be while he was clearly acting thus, and conducting his proceedings against me on this principle, that the terms of his indictment could have been consistent with his actions.' *ὁπηνίκα* introduces the protasis of which *ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν* forms the apodosis: 'if he had been clearly acting...his charges would have been in agreement.'

15 **νῦν δὲ** 'but as it is.' **ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας** joined, as in § 13, with the same implied distinction of 'straightforwardness' and 'natural equity.'

ὑποκρίνεται 'plays the actor,' § 287. **εἶτα** 'and farther.' **κρίνει** 'brings to trial,' cp. *in Mid.* § 207. **προΐσταται** (= *πρόφασιν ποιεῖται, de vera causa*, Schaef.) 'makes the prominent or chief object.' **οὐδαμοῦ...φαίνεται** 'and though he has on no occasion as yet ventured to meet me on this ground, he shows plainly that his object is to take away the civil privileges of another.' In § 251, he boasts that Aeschines had never brought a single action against him. *ἐπιτιμίαν* is the opposite of *ἀτιμίαν*, § 312. Aeschines has shown that his object is to disfranchise Ctesiphon by fixing the fine at 50 talents, which Ctesiphon would never be able to pay, and consequently as a public debtor would be *ἄτιμος.* **ἐπὶ ταύτην**, sc. *ἔχθραν*, cp. *in Phaen.* § 7 *ἐπαγγείλας τῷ Φαινίππῳ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπαντᾶν.* So *Mid.* 151 *ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀπήντων* 'they descended to such arguments as these in their answer.'

16 **ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν** 'by ourselves' without dragging in Ctesiphon or anyone else.' **ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ** 'could look out for some third party to inflict injury upon.' **τοῦτό γε**, the *γε* is strongly emphatic, as frequently. So § 1, *σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε* 'for this would be indeed a hard case.'

§ 17 *I will however review his charges as to my public career.*

17 **ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς** 'without any foundation of truth.' **τῆς εἰρήνης**, the peace ratified by Philip at Pella and by his allies at Pherae in B.C. 346, after the two embassies in which Demosthenes and Aeschines took part. **Φιλοκράτους**, an orator, one of the ten ambassadors who worked with Aeschines in making great concessions to Philip. **ἀνατιθείς** 'imputing, throwing the blame upon.' Thus *ἀναφορά*, § 219, signifies 'something to throw the blame upon.' **ἵνα...θεωρῆτε** 'that you may consider each measure with reference to the *then* existing circumstances.'

§§ 18—24 *Narrative of the Sacred war* (B.C. 357—346)*: Philip's intervention* (B.C. 352)*: the reasons for the Peace* (B.C. 346). *Aeschines and his party are responsible for the peace: but if I had been the adviser of this desertion of the Hellenic cause, why did he not denounce me? His present accusation is an insult to the city, which, he insinuates, called a Greek congress and yet negociated with Philip apart from it.*

18 **τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ, κ.τ.λ.** The Phocian or Sacred war began 357 B.C., and ended in 346. See Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. v. ch. 44. Grote ch. LXXXVII. **γάρ**, '*narrativum*' as it may be called, 'well then,' must not be translated 'for,' it serves to usher in the coming narration. **ἐπολιτευόμην** 'I had not at that time begun to take part in politics.' *πολιτεύειν* = 'to be a citizen,' *πολιτεύεσθαι*, 'to live or act as a citizen,' and so 'to take part in politics.' Cp. *βουλεύειν* and *βουλεύεσθαι*. See § 25. Demosthenes first showed his political bias in B.C. 355 in his speech *against Androtion*; but that was written for another. The first speech in his own person, which may be called a political one, is that *against Leptines*, B.C. 354. And in the same year he spoke in the Assembly for the first time *on the Symmories* [there was a tradition of an earlier speech]. **ἐφησθῆναι** 'to rejoice *over*,' or 'exult in' the misfortunes of another, generally expressed in the Tragedians by *ἐπιχαίρω*. So *ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα*, Aeschyl. *P. V.* 164. **οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ...ἐκέχρηντο** 'for they had not used their success at Leuctra with moderation.' The battle of Leuctra [B.C. 371] had made the Thebans the leading power in Greece for a time, a position which they held till the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 361, during which ten years they had four times invaded the Peloponnese, besides Thessaly. **ἅπασα διειστήκει** 'was all one scene of perpetual divisions.' **οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους**, the Theban party in the several states. The object of the Theban policy in the Peloponnese had been to make, by way of a counterpoise to Sparta, a strong Messeno-Arcadian state with capitals at

Messene and Megalopolis. Demosthenes attributes the Athenian opposition to the useless hostilities thus introduced into the Peloponnese: but it was also from fear that their supremacy in Boeotia would induce the Thebans to seize Oropus. **οἱ πρότερον** 'the men who were in office before by their influence.'

19 **τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις** 'the party of treason (i.e. Macedonizers) in each state'; see § 295. Polybius [18, 14] criticises adversely the sweeping classification of all Macedonizers as *προδόται*. **συνέκρουε** 'kept bringing into collision,' 'causing to clash,' § 163. **πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐτάραττεν** 'kept stirring them up against each other.' It is a metaphor from mixing up drugs or the like; cp. Arist. *Ach.* 688 *ἄνδρα Τιθωνὸν σπαράττων καὶ ταράττων καὶ κυκῶν*. *Eq.* 431 *ὁμοῦ ταράττων τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εἰκῇ*. Ameips. *fr.* *ταράττων φάρμακον*. **κακῶς ἐφρόνουν** is somewhat different from *ἥμαρτον*, for it indicates the origin of the errors in the lowered morale of the states brought about by the dislocation of local politics; cp. the opposite *εὖ φρονῶν*, *Timocr.* § 7. **αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο** 'and then he took advantage of the mistakes and ill-feeling of others to mature his own secret schemes and to grow to be formidable to all.' **παρεσκευάζετο** This verb is used especially of disingenuous and deliberate plotting. Thus in legal matters 'to get up a case,' [Aeschin. *Ctes.* 1, *παρασκευήν*] Lys. 7 § 11; 13 § 77; 14 § 10. **κατὰ πάντων** 'against all,' 'to the common danger.' **ἐφύετο** = *ηὐξάνετο* 'was increasing his strength.' **ὡς δὲ ...ἐπηγγείλατο** 'but when it became manifest to all men that the once haughty, but now unfortunate Thebans, reduced to extremities by the length of the war, would be compelled to fly to you for refuge; Philip, to prevent this from happening, and the different states from coalescing, offered peace to you, and succour to them.' **τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου** the Sacred war had lasted nine years. **βαρεῖς** 'formidable,' 'haughty'; cp. *βαρὺς καὶ ἀφόρητος ἄνθρωπος*, Aesch. *Ctes.* 31.

20 **ὀλίγου δεῖν** 'almost,' *paene dixi*, cp. the phrases *δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἑκὼν εἶναι*, etc. **ἀμφότερα ταῦτ'**, sc. *ὀνόματα*. **ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν** 'as the event has proved.' **συνελάμβανον** 'were ready to aid you.' **ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλε** 'as my opponent kept alleging against me.' **δικαίως** 'fairly,' 'without prejudice.'

21 **ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας** 'for truth's sake.' **'Αριστόδημος** was one of the first embassy of ten who set out from Athens in February, B.C. 346. **ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας** 'who followed him on the same side and drew up the resolution': *ἐκδέχεσθαι*, properly 'to take in succession from another,' as in *Fals. Leg.* 41 (37) and 369 (321). In Aesch. *Agam.* 288, *ἐκδοχὴ πομποῦ πυρός* is the regular succession or relays of the telegraphic

beacons. In this sense of 'supporting a motion,' *ὑποδοχή* is used; cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 62 *λέγειν ἅπαντα εἰς ὑποδοχὴν Φιλοκράτει.* **Ἁγνούσιος** of the deme *Ἁγνοῦς.*

22 **ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας** 'resting on,' 'based upon the naked truth': a similar force of *ἐπί* is found in the expression *ἐπὶ μαρτυρίας*, '*on* evidence.' § 233, note. **ἄρα** 'as it seems,' here ironical. **κεκωλυκὼς εἴην**, for the periphrastic tense see Goodw. § 118, 2. **ταύτην** sc. *εἰρήνην*; notice the middle *ποιήσασθαι* 'to secure for itself.'

ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ...διεξῆλθες 'can you point out a single occasion on which you were a witness to my endeavouring to deprive the state of an advantage and alliance, such as you have just been describing, and even expressed indignation or came forward to explain and detail the particulars which you now allege against me?' **πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν** 'negotiation (in general) and alliance (in particular).' **παρελθών** scil. *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα.* **ἃ κατηγορεῖς**, like Lat. *accusas*, 'you mention in your speech of accusation'; cp. § 4.

23 **καὶ μὴν** 'and farther.' **λοιπὸν** 'you had the resource,' cp. § 4. **ἤκουσέ σου** 'heard from you,' see on § 9. **πάλαι... ἐξεληλεγμένοι** 'the dispositions of all of them had been long since thoroughly tested.' **ὑγιὲς οὐδέν** 'not a word of truth.' **ὑγιὲς** 'sound,' true ‖ *σαθρόν* § 242.

24 **ἅμα...δὲ** to mark coincidence of time, as sometimes only *μὲν...δὲ* do. **αὐτοὶ δέ** 'spontaneously.' In nominative *αὐτός* is emphatic in all numbers and genders: in the oblique cases not necessarily so. **Εὐρυβάτου** This Eurybatus or Eurybates was an Ephesian or Lydian whom Croesus sent with a large sum of money to hire mercenaries in Peloponnesus. He betrayed Croesus to his enemy Cyrus, and his name passed into a proverb. He is generally coupled with Phrynondas. Cp. Plat. *Protag.* 327 D, Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 137. **πρᾶγμα...ἔργον** The first is commonly used in a bad sense of 'vexatious action,' the latter in good sense of 'achievement.' See § 317. **διεπράττεσθε** 'ye would have been conducting,' there is a notion of dishonesty or selfishness conveyed by the word. **ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην** 'with a view of securing the peace.' **οὔτε...ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ὤν** 'it is clear that I am not,' 'I am *proved* not to be.'

§§ 25—30 *Peace having been made, a second embassy was sent to Philip to obtain his ratification of it. Delay was in his interests, and delay was caused not by me, but by Aeschines and his friends.*

25 **τί ἡμῶν—πράττειν** 'what was the policy that each of us deliberately designed to carry out?' **τοίνυν** 'well then.' **ἔγραψα**

'I proposed.' A proposer of a *ψήφισμα* or *νόμος* was said *γράφειν*, because such proposals were properly written out and exposed on a *λεύκωμα* or tablet. **βουλεύων** 'being a member of the *βουλή*,' or council of Five Hundred. § 28 *εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγώ.* So *γραμματεύειν*, 'to be a *γραμματεύς*, or assembly-clerk,' *πρυτανεύειν* 'to be a Prytanis.' **τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν** 'to receive the oaths' from Philip, the Athenians having already taken the corresponding ones to the Peace. The present is used because the whole expedition is referred to, not the one act of administering the oaths. **οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ...ἠθέλησαν** 'they refused to do so in spite of my having passed this decree.'

26 **τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο** *quid hoc sibi volebat?* 'what was the point of this?' **τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον** The interval between the departure of the embassy from Athens, and the taking of the oaths by Philip. Cp. *Fals. Leg.* 181 (164). **ἐξελύσατε** 'you entirely laid aside.' **ὁ δὲ...ἐπραγματεύετο** 'whereas this had been the special object of his schemes from the very first.' **ὅσα...προλάβοι** 'whatever dependencies of the state he could preoccupy.'

27 **ταῦτα...διέσυρε** 'these fortresses which Aeschines was just now speaking so slightingly of.' **διασύρω** 'pull to pieces,' 'disparage,' a peculiarly Demosthenic word, which we shall meet with many times. **τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνόν** The article is used because Aeschines had previously mentioned these places (*Ctes.* 82) contemptuously, saying that Demosthenes *πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν...ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον.* Herodotus however had heard the names of two of them before (see 7, 59), and calls Serrium *ἄκρη ὀνομαστή*, 'a celebrated headland' on the Thracian coast. **οὕτω** 'when affairs were in this position,' 'in these circumstances': best expressed in English by a negative 'that the oaths might not be taken until he had possessed himself of etc.' **τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων** 'all the points of vantage.'

28 **προσάγειν** 'introduce into the Boulè.' **τοῦτό μου** 'this action of mine.' **μὴ προσάγειν...δήπου** 'should I have proposed *not* to introduce the ambassadors, who were come for the express purpose of negotiating with you? Should I have given orders to the lessee of the theatre *not* to assign them a place as spectators? "Why," (say they) "they might have taken their places in the two-obol seats, if my proposition had not been made." Was it my duty to secure so trivial a gain as this to the State, but all the while to have sold the common weal to Philip, as these men have done? I trow not.' **θέαν,** cp. *Mid.* p. 572. **ἀρχιτέκτων** 'lessee,' according to Boeckh, *Econ.* p. 220. The *προεδρία* was given by courtesy to distinguished foreigners.

ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν 'in the two obol-seats,' i.e. in the body of the theatre, as opposed to the reserved seats. This method of designating them may be compared with the short way of indicating the shops and stalls in the agora. Arist. *Vesp.* 789, *ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν*, 'in the fish market.' *Equit.* 1375 *ἐν τῷ μύρῳ*, 'in the scent-shop.' Theoph. *Char.* 11 *τὰ κάρυα, τὰ μύρτα, τὰ ἀκρόδρυα.*

29 **Ψήφισμα.** See Appendix A. **Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ** 'on the last day of Hecatombaeon.' This was the first month of the Attic year, beginning with the new moon next after the summer solstice (21 June). *ἕνη καὶ νέα*, 'old and new moon,' was the name given to the last day of the month, as belonging partly to the old and partly to the new month. **φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος** 'during the presidency of the tribe Pandion,' that is, when the 50 bouleutae of the tribe Pandion were Prytanies. They were divided into committees of ten (*πρόεδροι*) who elected a president each day (*ἐπιστάτης*), and who managed the business of the assembly for a week. **ὑπερβολήν** 'delay.' *ἀναβολή* is more common in this sense.

30 **βραχὺ...οὗτοι** 'these worthy gentlemen of the embassy, taking small heed of my decree, sat idle for three whole months in Macedonia'; see *Fals. Leg.* 171 (155). *κάθημαι*, 'to sit doing nothing.' Cp. *Olynth.* 2 § 24 *καθήμεθα οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες.* Herod. 3, 134, 151. **τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας** The whole embassy took three months, including both journeys; it is therefore an exaggeration to say that the ambassadors were three whole months in Macedonia. **ἐξὸν** 'though they might.' The absolute use of neuter part. is most common with compounds of *εἰμί*, but is not confined to them. Madv. § 182. **ἡμερῶν δέκα** 'within ten days,' genitive of the time within which, as in *τῆς νυκτός, τῆς ἡμέρας* and the like. G. § 179. **ἐξελεῖν** 'to capture,' perhaps originating from the idea of the removal of inhabitants from captured towns. See Herod. 5, 16; 6, 32, 133. **ἂν διημαρτήκει** 'he would then have finally missed the peace' (and still have been without it). *ἂν* with pluperfect refers to something that would have been completed in the past, and have remained so up to the present. **καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἶχε** 'and would not now have been in possession of.' Madv. § 117.

§§ 31—39 *I naturally therefore have ever been their enemy. By their corrupt collusion they gave Philip time to attack Phocis, which was accordingly utterly ruined, while Athens was menaced with serious danger, as is shown in the following decree and letter from Philip.*

31 **πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι** 'that I am at war and enmity.' The combination of two synonyms is a common pleonasm in

Demosthenes, employed, says Dionys. Hal. (*π. δεινότ.* c. 58), for the sake of clearness (*σαφήνεια*) and rhythm (*εὐρυθμία*). Cp. inf. 248 *εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς*, and §§ 14, 22, 53, 138 (Rehdantz's Demosthenes, Index I. p. 166 ff.). Here the ordinary expression *διαφέρεσθαι* follows the trope *πολεμεῖν*. They are not however precisely synonymous. Besides the distinction between the ordinary and figurative use, we may notice that *πολεμεῖν* indicates *active* measures of hostility, *διαφέρεσθαι* the general attitude of opposition, 'to be at variance with.' **εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς** 'following immediately upon the former.'

32 **ἐπειδὴ γάρ** The narrative *γάρ*, see § 18. **προλαβὼν ὤμοσε** 'did not take the oath until he had secured Thrace.' The participle is really the important word. **διὰ τούτους οὐ πεισθέντας** 'owing to these men's non-compliance with the decree.' For the participle in apposition cp. § 49. Madv. § 181 R. 7. **ὥσπερ πρότερον** This 'former occasion' occurred in the Sacred war, B.C. 352, after Philip's victory over Onomarchus; when he attempted to pass Thermopylae, which was defended by an Athenian force under Nausicles. See *Fals. Leg.* 94 (84), 1 *Philip.* 17, Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. V. p. 283. Grote pt. II. c. LXXXVII. **ἀλλ' ἅμ'...δέ** 'but that he might be within the Pass of Thermopylae by the time that you got our message.' Cp. § 24.

33 **ἐκφύγοι...αὐτόν** 'the opportunity should escape him.' Cp. 3 *Phil.* § 3. **ἅπαντα** sc. *τὰ πράγματα*, 'our whole interests and chance of acting.'

34 **ἀξιῶ** 'I expect, claim as my right.' **δέομαι** 'I entreat,' as a favour on your parts. **μὴ κατηγορήσαντος...μηδέν** 'had Aeschines mentioned nothing in his speech beyond the scope of the indictment.' The participial clause is the protasis of a conditional sentence, of which **οὐδ' ἂν...ἕτερον**, 'neither would I have now had to add any argument in his refutation,'—is the apodosis.

35 **ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν** 'if you only take no steps whatever.' **δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν** 'within two or three days,' § 30. **οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα...συμφέρειν** 'for it is not words that cement friendships, quoth he, phrasing it pompously enough, but identity of interest.' **ἀναλγησίας** 'heartlessness.' *ἀνάλγητος* or *δυσάλγητος* means 'deficient in *feeling*,' *ἀναίσθητος* 'deficient in *sense*.' This distinction is well illustrated, inf. § 128, *ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν...περίεστιν*, 'by their stupidity they cause their hearers to feel hurt.' **βαρύτητος** 'dangerous pride,' thus in § 19 he speaks of the Thebans as *βαρεῖς*, implying that they were proud and that their pride was formidable.

36 **ἤκουον...αὐτοῦ** 'heard this from him,' cp. *τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει*, § 28. **ὑποῦσαν** = *ὑπάρχουσαν* 'previously existing.' **Φωκέας**

ἀπολέσθαι, this occurred B.C. 346, in virtue of an Amphictyonic decree. By the vote of the Amphictyonic council, summoned by Philip at Delphi, all the cities of Phocis, except Abae, were to be destroyed, and the inhabitants were to live in villages of not more than 50 houses, and were to pay 10,000 talents in yearly instalments, in compensation for the treasure taken from Delphi. See note on § 42. **σκευαγωγεῖν** 'had to bring in all the moveable property.' **ἀπέχθειαν...χάριν** 'you gained only the hatred of the Thebans and Thessalians, Philip got their gratitude.' Because, instead of injuring the Thebans and Thessalians, as the Athenians had expected, Philip restored Thebes to the supremacy in Boeotia, and arranged that they and the Thessalians should be associated with himself in presiding at the Pythian games,—that is, were to be recognised as the leading powers in the Amphictyonic league. Cp. *Fals. Leg.* p. 368 *ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε.*

37—39 **Ψήφισμα.** The decree, like the other documents quoted in the speech, is condemned as spurious by most editors. They are apparently composed by some early editor who had before him some traces of the original documents now lost. The letter is perhaps more likely to be genuine. It is certainly at any rate a skilful imitation; and the language, which is found fault with, might generally be supported by parallel passages from undisputed Greek of the period.

κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι, Lat. *pernoctare*. **ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀποτεταγμένοι** 'detached on garrison duty.'

38 **τοῖς...ἐπιτιμίοις** The ordinary penalties for *προδοσία* were death, confiscation of property, and disfranchisement of the posterity of the *προδότης*. But we must suppose that the court had a discretionary power of mitigation in the less heinous kinds of treason. **ἐὰν...ἐπιδεικνύῃ** 'unless he can distinctly prove circumstances in his own case, which made it impossible to comply.' **τι ἀδύνατον** 'some *case* of impossibility,' as § 108, *πολλὰ τὰ ἀδύνατα ξυνέβαινεν.* **τῶν ὅπλων** = *τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.* **ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως** Boeckh tells us to supply *ταμίας*, but it is more probably *στρατηγός*, 'the general of the administration,' who was, we may suppose, paymaster of the forces.

39 **τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδέν** 'the general tenor of your policy appears to be lacking moderation, in that ye have concluded a treaty, and yet all the same (as if there were *no* treaty, *ὁμοίως*) are preparing to lead out a force against me.' **καὶ ταῦτα...συνθήκαις** 'and that though the Phocians were never included in the treaties made between me and you.'

οὐδὲν...ἀδικοῦντες 'all the good you will do will be to put yourselves in the position of aggressors.'

§§ 40—41 *The true meaning of Philip's letter is to appeal to the allies for support on the ground that he has humbled Athens; and Aeschines is the Athenian statesman, who, in spite of his hypocritical lamentations, helped him to do it.*

40 **πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους** 'for the benefit of his own allies' i.e. 'for them to understand.' **οὐ τούτοις...δεικνύναι** 'not writing it in so many words, but this was the meaning he intended to convey.' **ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβών** 'the result was that he got such an ascendency over them, that they did not foresee.' Cp. Arist. *Ran.* 468 *κἀποδρὰς ᾤχου λαβών. Ach.* 691 *τοῦτ' ὀφλὼν ἀπέρχομαι.* **ἐκείνους** = the Thebans. **ταῖς παρουσαις συμφοραῖς κέχρηνται** 'they are ruined as we see this day.'

41 **δῆλον γὰρ...πράξαντος** The whole of this passage is ironical. 'For of course, Aeschines, *you* are pained by what has occurred, and pity the Thebans, you that have property in Boeotia, and are now farming what was once theirs; whilst I, on the contrary, rejoice—I whose surrender was immediately demanded by the author of these disasters!' i. e. by Alexander, B. C. 335, after the destruction of Thebes. He at first demanded eight of the popular leaders at Athens who had advised aid being given to the Thebans in their attack upon the Macedonian garrison, but subsequently did not press this condition. **γεωργῶν** Demosthenes tells us that the yearly value of these farms was half a talent. *F. L.* § 158, 360.

§§ 42—49 *Then followed a period in which Philip contrived to get one Greek state after another into his power. The Thebans and Thessalians led the way in their blind folly; and the traitors in every state, corrupted by flattery or gold, promoted this ruin of their country, and reaped the usual reward of traitors in being neglected and despised by the very man in whose interests they were working.*

42 **αὐτίκα** 'presently.' **ἐπάνειμι** 'so I will go back again to the evidence.' **τούτων**, Aeschines and his party. **ἀνῄρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν** 'their cities had been destroyed.' In accordance with a vote of the Amphictyonic council convoked after the peace of B.C. 346, under the influence of Philip, all the twenty-two towns of Phocis, except Abae, were dismantled and broken up into villages. [Diodor. Sic. 16, 60; Pausan. 10, 3; *de Fals. Leg.* § 154; Grote, vol. XI. p. 230; Thirlw. vol. V. p. 376.]

43 **οἱ κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοί** 'the abominable Thessalians.' Westermann notices the party spirit displayed in applying this harsh epithet to a people that had always been on good terms with the Athenians. **πάντ'...αὐτοῖς** 'Philip was all in all to them.' Cp. *in Arist.* § 120 *καὶ πάντ' ἦν 'Αλέξανδρος.* **τρό-**

πον τινὰ πολεμούμενοι 'after being themselves in a manner attacked.' He qualifies the statement by *τρόπον τινά*, because, though the states to which he refers had not been actually engaged in war with Philip, their interests were threatened by it. **ἐκ πολλοῦ** 'for a long time past.' Simcox translates this 'from a distance,' 'indirectly'; but there seems to be no authority for that meaning. He is referring to the period between B.C. 346—340 during which the constant interference of Philip in Hellenic affairs ought, according to Demosthenes, to have shown everyone the danger he was to Greece. In this period Demosthenes delivered (1) the 2nd Philippic (B.C. 344); (2) the Speeches on *Halonnesos* (?) and *de Fals. Leg.* (B.C. 343); (3) the Speech on the *Chersonese* and the 3rd and 4th Philippics (B.C. 341).

44 **Ἰλλυριούς**: Philip finally conquered the Illyrians, B.C. 344, see Thirlwall, vol. VI. p. 12; Grote, vol. XI. p. 248. He broke his collar-bone during the campaign, § 67. Diodor. 16, 69. **Τριβαλλούς** he defeated the Triballi on his return from Scythia, and was wounded in the leg during the action (§ 67). **ἐπὶ τῇ...ἐξουσίᾳ** 'on the strength of the peace.' **εἰ δὲ μή...πρὸς ἐμέ** 'whether they failed to penetrate his designs, is another question altogether, it has nothing to do with me.' **ἄλλος**, or *ἕτερος* **λόγος**, a proverbial expression, 'it does not apply to me.' Plat. *Apol.* § 23 *εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μή*, **ἄλλος λόγος**. Cp. Dem. 3 *Phil.* 16.

45 **ἐγὼ γὰρ προὔλεγον**, that is in the various speeches mentioned in the note to § 43. **ἐνόσουν** 'were in an unhealthy state.' Cf. 3 *Philipp.* § 39 *ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς*. ib. § 113 *ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι*. ib. § 123 *ἐπειδὰν δ'...πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ*. **ἰδιωτῶν** 'men not in any public office,' opp. to *τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι*. **τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν** the article refers to both words as indicating the same persons, 'private people, that is, the majority.' **τοιουτονί...βούλωνται** 'all being similarly affected, more or less; each thinking that the danger would surely come, but not to their own doors; and that by means of their neighbours' perils they would themselves be able to secure their own interests at pleasure.' **πλὴν οὐκ**, a condensed expression, they thought it would come, only they did not think it would come to them. **τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων** 'the dangers of other people.'

46 **ἀκούουσιν** *audiunt* 'are called.' **θεοῖς ἐχθροί**, § 61.

47 **οὐδέν** supply before this *εἰ μὴ οὕτως εἶχε* 'otherwise.' **εὐδαιμονέστερον** = *εὐδαιμονέστερον πρᾶγμα*, the neuter used as a substantive predicatively to denote the *essence* of a *class* of objects. Madvig § 1, b. 3, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 693 *τὸ ζῆν σμικρόν*, infra § 242 *πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης*. **τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν** It

is unnecessary to take δέ here as marking the apodosis which begins with **καὶ τῶν ταῦτα**... 'he is master of those also who sold it him (ταῦτα=τὰ πράγματα), and, knowing their baseness, from that instant both hates, and distrusts, and despises them.' **τότε δὴ** *tum maxime.*

48 **καὶ γὰρ εἰ** 'for truly though.' **Λασθένης** For these 'traitors,' see a more copious list in § 295; they are the partisans of Philip in the several states, who believed that Greece would be better ordered under the influence of some strong external power. **εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων...γέγονεν** 'since then every part of Greece has been filled with them (i.e. the traitors), driven into exile, insulted, and suffering every imaginable kind of ill-treatment.' **ἡ οἰκουμένη** 'the Grecian world': the expression is used also of the Roman world by various writers.

49 **τὸ ἔχειν...περιποιεῖ** 'saves you a country to sell,' literally, 'preserves that for which you get your bribes paid you.' **διὰ τοὺς πολλούς...ἀπολώλειτε** 'you have to thank the majority of these my hearers, and those who withstood your designs, that you are now safe and in pay; since, had it depended on yourselves alone, you would long ago have been ruined.' For **πολλούς** in appos. with participle see § 32. For **ἂν** with pluperfect § 30. **διά γε ὑμᾶς** 'for all *you* have done to prevent it,' so '*per*' is used in Latin, Cic. *Div.* x. 1, '*nunquam per Antonium quietus fui.*'

§§ 50—52 *I have been forced into these somewhat stale details by the attack of Aeschines, who tried to attribute his own treason, which he calls friendship for Alexander, to me. He was however no 'friend' to Alexander, but his hireling.*

50 **αἴτιος δέ...ἀπολύσασθαι** 'for this Aeschines himself is answerable, since he has bespattered me as it were with the remains of a yesterday's debauch from his own villainy and crimes; whereof necessity compelled me to clear myself in the eyes of those who are too young to remember the facts.' **ἑωλοκρασία**, comp. of ἕωλος and κρᾶσις, translated '*crapulam suae improbitatis*' by Taylor. It was a practical joke for those who remained awake longest at a symposium to smear the faces of their sleeping companions with the stale (ἕωλος) wine which was left. Lucian imitates this passage, *Lapith.* III. πολλὴν τὴν ἑωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων. ἀπολύσασθαι 'to acquit, clear myself.' Dissen rightly objects to ἀπολούσασθαι and ἀποκλύσασθαι, which have been proposed for the sake of carrying out the metaphor, '*ne putida fiat metaphora.*' **παρηνώχλησθε** 'you were perhaps disgusted,' at the wearisome and unnecessary detail.

51 **καὶ νῦν...λέγων** 'and just now, if you recollect, he used these expressions in the course of his speech.' See Aesch. *Ctes.* 66. **μισθοῦ** 'for wages.'

52 **καὶ οὗτοι πάντες** 'and so do all these gentlemen here.' **ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν** The partisans of Demosthenes (*οἱ ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθημένοι*) here join in shouting '*μισθωτός*.'

§§ 53—126 Reply to the several counts of the γραφή itself, or indictment of Ctesiphon.

§§ 53—59 *The text of the indictment. It alleges* (1) *That Ctesiphon falsely describes my policy as patriotic,* (2) *that he illegally proposes to crown me while ὑπεύθυνος,* (3) *that he illegally proposes to proclaim the honour in the Dionysian theatre.*

53 **ἐμαυτῷ** dat. of the agent after perfect passive. **τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων** 'of the honours proposed in the probouleuma of Ctesiphon.'

54 **ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων** sc. *γραφήν*, 'laid an indictment for illegal propositions.' **πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα** to the Archon Basileus, before whom the *ἀνάκρισις* was held. **τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς** =*καιναῖς τραγῳδίαις*, i.e. at the Greater Dionysia in March. Aeschines gives the expression more fully, *καινῶν τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων*. Aesch. *c. Tim.* § 158 *κωμῳδῶν ὄντων ἐν* Κολλυτῷ. Cicero, *ad Att.* 2, 19, 3 uses '*gladiatoribus*' for '*ludis gladiatoriis.*'

55 **οὐκ ἐώντων** *vetantium.* **καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα** 'to enter upon the public records.' This meaning of *καταβάλλεσθαι* seems not to occur elsewhere. The active *καταβάλλειν* is used in § 103 of lodging a copy of a law; cp. *in Phorm.* § 46 *ἡ μαρτυρία κατεβάλλετο.* Plato *Soph.* 232 D (of regulations as to crafts) *δεδημοσιωμένα που καταβέβληται γεγραμμένα τῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν.* **ὑπεύθυνον** During the tenure of any public office, and from its close till the audit or *εὐθύνη*, a man was incapable of holding another office. **ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος** The Theoric fund was the money set apart for religious ceremonies, games, festivals, theatrical exhibitions and the like. The commissioners in charge of it were called *ταμίαι τῶν θεωρικῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν θεωρικῶν, ἐπιμέληται τῶν θεωρικῶν.* Boeckh, *Publ. Econ.* p. 168—170. **τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ** sc. *εἰσόδῳ* (Dissen) or *εἰσαγωγῇ* (Bremi). **κλήτορες** 'witnesses of the service of a suit or summons.' See § 150.

56 **ἃ...ψηφίσματος** 'the points in the decree which he makes the subject of his indictment.' **τῶν γεγραμμένων** 'of the counts of the indictment,' *capita accusationis.*

57 **διατελεῖν πράττοντα.** See on § 1. **ἐπαινεῖν** here=*στεφανοῦν*, which indicates a public testimonial of approval. See Introduction. **τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι** 'that the question depends on

my public life,' 'that my public life is the best criterion of this.' **εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ** 'or whether they are false,' the *καὶ* emphasises the alternative, see § 58.

58 **τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα...στεφανοῦν.** The infinitive may depend on some word understood from *κελεῦσαι* or *τὸ στεφανοῦν* may be regarded as = *τὸ κελεῦσαι στεφανοῦν.* 'But as to the allegation that he proposed my being crowned, without adding the saving clause "As soon as I have passed my audit"; and, secondly, that he provided that the honour should be proclaimed in the Theatre,—these counts also I consider stand or fall by the merits of my public life.' **καὶ τοῦτο** sums up with emphasis the clauses which compose the subject of the infinitive *κοινωνεῖν* 'have to do with.' **εἴτε καὶ μή** cp. § 57. **ἔτι μέντοι** 'besides that, however, I shall have to point out the laws justifying Ctesiphon in making his proposals.' In so far as the defence rests on a review of Demosthenes' policy and conduct, §§ 60—109, the orator can speak with confidence. The counts which refer to the technical illegality of crowning a *ὑπεύθυνος* and proclaiming it in the Theatre are not equally easy to answer: and Demosthenes throws that portion of his defence into the middle of the speech, § 110—122. **βαδιοῦμαι** § 263.

59 **καί με μηδεὶς...πεποιηκώς** 'let no one suppose that I am detaching my arguments from the indictment, when I fall into the mention of foreign policy and deliberations. For he who attacks that part of Ctesiphon's proposition which states "that my public speeches and policy were unexceptionable"; he who has indicted these statements as untrue; he it is who has made the discussion of my public conduct germane and even necessary to this indictment.' **ἐὰν ἐμπέσω** 'if I fall (as assuredly I shall) into the mention,' cp. § 256. **Ἑλληνικὰς** 'Hellenic,' as opposed to merely Athenian transactions or politics, cp. § 156. **τὸ...τὰ ἄριστά με** 'the clause which alleges that my speeches and actions were excellent.' **οἰκείους** *affines*, strictly appropriate. **πολλῶν προαιρέσεων...τῆς πολιτείας** 'now there being many different *lines* which one may take up in politics.' *προαίρεσις* is properly 'a deliberate choice' or 'profession'; when used in connexion with *πολιτεία* it implies the adoption of certain political principles, as we have below, *ἡ ἐμὴ προαίρεσις καὶ πολιτεία*, which in English we briefly express in one word 'my *politics*.' **τὰς ἀποδείξεις...ποιεῖσθαι** 'so that I have a right to ground the evidence in my defence also on them.'

§§ 60—109 **Answer to the first count, That my conduct has not been, as the probouleuma asserts, patriotic.**

§§ 60—65 *I am not answerable for what happened before I entered public life* [B.C. 353—2]. *At that time Philip had*

already made considerable progress in his intrigues in Greece. I urged my fellow-citizens to resist him. Was I wrong?

60 **πρὸ τοῦ...δημηγορεῖν.** Demosthenes appears to mean that he will begin the review of his public life from the delivery of the 1st Philippic (B.C. 352) when Philip was already master of Thessaly. He had in fact begun speaking in the Assembly two years before, his earliest extant public speech being that on 'the Symmories.' **προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε** 'seized and kept.' **τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών** 'having premised this much.' **πλεονέκτημα ...Φιλίππῳ** 'Philip started with (*ὑπῆρξε*) one great source of advantage on his side.'

61 **φορὰν προδοτῶν** 'a crop of traitors.' So we have below, § 271 *φορὰν πραγμάτων* 'a harvest of troubles.' Aesch. *Ctes.* 234 *φορὰ ῥητόρων*. Compare the Latin expressions *proventus scelerum*, Luc. *Phars.* 2, 61: *seges telorum*, Verg. *Aen.* 3, 46. **θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν** treated as one word. **κακῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς** 'being on bad terms with each other.' For *ἑαυτοῖς = ἀλλήλοις* (but as opposed to outsiders) cp. Herod. 6, 42 *συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι.* **διδούς** 'offering bribes.'

62 **τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ** 'of the mischief that was gathering and coming to maturity'; cp. *αὐτὸς...ἐφύετο* in § 19. **ὁ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας** 'who threw himself into the gap.' Observe the position of *ἐγώ* at the end of the sentence = 'I, and I alone.' **ἐνταῦθα** i.e. in opposition to Philip.

63 **φρόνημα** 'her pride, her high spirit.' For **τάξει** cp. § 2. **ἢ τοῦτο...ἀληθῶς** 'or not actually to do this (terrible indeed would that have been), but yet,' etc. For the construction of **ὡς ἀληθῶς**, see note on § 212. **ἑώρα...προῃσθάνεθ'** sc. *ἡ πόλις*. **περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα** 'to allow to take place unopposed.'

64 **τῆς ποίας μερίδος...αἰσχρῶν** 'I should like to ask him, in which category he would have wished the city to have ranged itself,—that of those who were contributing to the misfortunes and disgraces which have befallen the Greeks (among which one may class the Thessalians and their partisans), or of those who allowed these things to happen without resistance, in hope of private advantage?'

65 **χεῖρον ἀπηλλάχασιν** 'have come off worse.' Cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* 158 *οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος* 'no one ever yet came off with credit.' Aeschyl. *Agam.* 1260 *οἱ δ' εἶχον πόλιν...οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει.* **ἦν ἄν...ἐναντιωθέντων** If Philip had not done any harm in Greece after his victory, 'there would have been some cause to find fault with and accuse those who opposed him.' Some editors read *ὅμως ἦν...τῶν οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων*, in which case the

sense would be 'If Philip had done no harm after his victory, even then those who did not oppose him would have had some blame attaching to them,' i.e. because, even independently of subsequent events, what he had already done was a calamity to Greece. The weight of MS. authority is against *οὐκ*, and if *οὐκ* is omitted *ὅμως* seems meaningless, unless it be taken to imply 'in spite of their good intentions.' **ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες** 'in being persuaded by me,' sc. to resist Philip.

§§ 66—72 *To justify the policy, recommended by me and adopted by the state, we need not quote the conduct of Philip as to Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Halonnesus, Serrhium, Doriscus and Peparethus: which drew the decrees against him proposed, not by me, but by others. His intrigues in Euboea, at Megara, the Hellespont and Byzantium,—were they not a casus belli?*

66 **τὸν Ἀθήνησι** [*ἐμέ*]. The last word is omitted in the best MSS. It is not needed, as the succeeding verbs sufficiently show that the Orator is alluding to himself, and the emphasis is upon *Ἀθήνησι*. 'What ought the counsellor at Athens (for this is the material point) to have done?—I who had long known etc.?' The argument is that, whatever any statesman of any other state might have thought it his duty to advise, an *Athenian* was bound by the traditional policy of his country to counsel resistance. **τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων** 'the interests of Hellas at large.'

67 **ἐκκεκομμένον** at the siege of Methone, near the Thessalian frontier, B.C. 353. The story is that the arrow which struck him was shot by one Aster, who labelled it with the words, *Ἀστὴρ Φιλίππῳ θανάσιμον πέμπει βέλος*: and Philip replied by the same method, *Ἀστέρα Φίλιππος ἢν λάβῃ κρεμήσεται*, a threat which he executed after the capture of the city. **τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα** 'having his collar-bone broken,' see on § 44. **τοῦτο** cp. § 58. **τῷ λοιπῷ** scil. *σώματι* 'with what his enemies had left of him.'

68 **καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι** 'and to have actually conceived this idea,' sc. of gaining the supremacy in Greece. **ἐν πᾶσι...θεωροῦσι** 'in everything that meets your eyes and ears, discovering something to remind you of the valour of your forefathers.' **θεωρήμασι** such as the painting in the Stoa Poecile, for instance. **αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντάς**. This is not a mere pleonasm. *ἐθελονταί* is 'of their free will,' *αὐτεπάγγελτοι*, 'at their own proposal,' 'without waiting to be asked.' **παραχωρῆσαι ἐλευθερίας** 'to abandon your freedom,' a metaphor from soldiers yielding ground. Cp. § 273 *παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων*. Aesch. *Ctes.* 5 *λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες*, 'you will insensibly surrender the constitution.' *ἐξίσταμαι* is used in the same sense, see on § 319.

69 **καὶ ἐγὼ** 'I especially.' **τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν** 'what ought I to have done?' The past sense is expressed by the main verb, the infinitive remains in the present unless the action refers to a precedent time. **Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον.** Amphipolis and Pydna were taken in B.C. 358, the former by a trick. Potidaea was captured and handed over to the Olynthians in B.C. 356. Halonnesus, an island off the Magnesian Coast, was taken by Philip in B.C. 343.

70 **Σέρριον...Πεπαρήθου.** Serrhium was a promontory and town on the coast of Thrace opposite Samothrace [*cape Makri*]. Doriscus in Thrace to the West of the Hebrus. Peparethus, an island to the east of Halonnesus, ravaged by Philip because the inhabitants took possession of Halonnesus. See 4 *Philip.* § 8 sqq. **οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα** 'I ignore their existence.' **Εὐβούλου...ὄντων** 'though the decrees were really proposed by Eubulus, Aristophon, and Diopeithes, not by me.'

71 **Εὔβοιαν...σφετεριζόμενος** 'trying to get Euboea under his influence.' Euboea had been united with Athens since B.C. 358 when the Theban garrisons were expelled. In B.C. 351 Philip, who after the conquest of Thessaly was at an easy distance from Euboea, began intriguing with certain statesmen in the Island. The result was an outbreak of war in Euboea between the partisans of Philip and those of Athens, and an expedition sent from Athens under Phocion, who conquered the rebels and their Macedonian allies at Tamynae [B.C. 350]. But hostilities went on in a fitful manner, always instigated by Philip, until in B.C. 341 Phocion, again sent with an army into Euboea, succeeded in expelling the Macedonian troops. Grote, pt. II. cc. LXXXVIII. XC. **Μεγάροις** Grote c. XC. p. 253. **Πορθμὸν** a fort close to Eretria, see 3 *Phil.* § 57. **Ὠρεῷ** Oreus or Histiaea in the N. of Euboea, an almost Athenian town since its settlement by Pericles in B.C. 445. **Ἑλλήσποντον** in B.C. 342. See Plutarch *Dem.* 7, *Phoc.* 17. **ἃς μὲν...εἰς ἃς δὲ** 'some,' 'others,' cp. *ἐφ' ὧν μέν...ἐφ' ὧν δέ* and the like frequent in Aristotle and others, and the colloquial *ἦ δ' ὅς* 'said he.' **κατάγων** 'restoring,' the technical word for this process, as *κατιέναι* and *κάθοδος* are for the return of an exile. See Aristoph. *Ran.* 1151. **καὶ πότερον...ἢ μή** 'and was there need for some Greek to appear to hinder him from carrying out these practices, or not?'

72 **τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν** 'the proverbial Mysians' booty,' meaning apparently a helpless prey, derived from some incident in Mysian history, or perhaps from their national character, as a peaceable nomadic people, which left them an easy prey to robbers and pirates. See Harpocrat. s.v. *Μυσῶν*. Several proverbs derived from national characteristics or incidents

were current in Greek: as, for instance, *ἐν Καρὶ κινδυνεύειν in corpore vili experimentum facere.* Plato *Laches* 187 B. *Euthyd.* 285 B. Eurip. *Cycl.* 654: and *Λοκροὶ τὰς συνθήκας* (of ill-keeping of a treaty) Polyb. 12, 12. **περιείργασμαι** 'I troubled myself in vain,' 'I have acted superfluously.' **ἐμά** emphatic 'preeminently mine.' **ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην** 'this therefore was the object of my policy.'

§§ 73—79 *It was Philip in fact who broke the treaty by impounding Leodamas and his ships; and even then I was not the proposer of the consequent decrees, as their perusal will prove,—a fact still farther confirmed by Philip's own letter in which I am not mentioned. And why? Because if he had mentioned the points in which I had opposed him,—the Peloponnese, Euboea, and Byzantium,—he would have been mentioning his own wrong doings.*

73 **Ψήφισμα** B.C. 340. See Appendix A. **Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον.** The title *ναύαρχος* is invariably used in Thucydides with reference to a Spartan officer, and was not a recognised official title at Athens. The event here referred to is not otherwise known. It seems to have been one of a number of acts of hostility to the Athenian shipping committed by Philip in B.C. 340 while he was besieging Perinthus, on that town along with Byzantium forming an alliance with Athens against him. Grote, vol. XI. p. 257—9 (ch. XC.). **συναχθῇ** this is the reading of some MSS., others have *συναχθῶσι.*

74 **εἰ δέ...λαβών** 'but if Amyntas did so because he found Leodamas committing some irregularity beyond his instructions.' **εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον...λέγειν** 'but if neither of these suppositions is the true one, and either the sender (Philip) or the emissary (Amyntas) is solely in fault, the ambassadors must report this too.' **ἰδίᾳ** 'solely' = *καθ' αὑτούς*, without any fault in the Athenian commander. **καὶ λέγειν** the ellipse is *καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις.* The common reading is *καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν*, 'that they bid the ambassadors write word of this too.'

75 **ἐχρημάτισαν** = *rettulerunt*, 'proposed for discussion.' Cp. § 169. **ἀνενεγκόντες** 'having made their report of what passed in the assembly.' The ecclesia voted that ambassadors should be sent, but it was referred to the Boulè to name the men. **ἀνακομιδῆς** 'the recovery.' **'Αριστοφῶν** This Aristophon of Colyttus must not be confounded with Aristophon the Azenian, in whose old age, fifteen years before, Demosthenes entered on his public life. The Azenian passed a law respecting illegitimacy, B.C. 403. He is mentioned below, § 162, and

by Aesch. *in Ctes.* 139. **πρόεδρος** seems here used loosely for *ἐπιστάτης*, as it is occasionally in later Greek.

76 **εἰ γὰρ εἶχες...παρέσχου** 'for if it had been in your power to do so, there is nothing you would have brought forward in preference.' **καὶ μὴν** introduces a new point, the evidence of Philip's own letter.

[§§ 77—8 The letter of Philip is condemned on the ground (1) that the siege of Selymbria is nowhere mentioned, (2) that *ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου* should according to the decree (§ 73) *be εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον*, (3) that *Λαομέδων* should according to the same decree be *Λεωδάμας*. The first is inconclusive, because the details of the events of this year are not accurately known. The two last are inconclusive, because if the decree be spurious, a difference from it cannot prove the letter spurious also.]

77 **πρόφασιν μὲν...βοηθήσοντα δὲ.** Here *δέ* has the unusual force of *ἔργῳ δέ* or *ἀληθῶς δέ* and is by itself opposed to *πρόφασιν μέν*. Dissen compares Tacit. *Annal.* 1, 44, where *ceterum* has the same sense: *Veterani in Rhaetiam mittuntur specie defendendae provinciae, ceterum ut avellerentur castris.* It seems to mark the lateness of the Greek [or its Macedonian origin (?)]; see note on *εὐχαριστία*, § 91. **Λῆμνον**, which belonged to the Athenians, Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* § 72, *Λήμνου, Ἴμβρου, καὶ Σκύρου, τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων.* All these islands were ceded to them at the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, and had since remained in their possession.

78 **ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου** 'without the consent or sanction of the people.' Goeller illustrates this sense of *ἄνευ* by Thucyd. 1, 128 *ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον.* **πρόσοδον** 'a source of profit.' **τὰ νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα** 'the ships that were lately towed into my harbour.' *κατάγειν* 'to bring to land' opp. to *ἀνάγειν*.

79 **ἐγεγράφει** al. *γεγράφει, ἔγραφε, γέγραφε.* The perfect is not correct in the protasis of such a sentence. **εἰχόμην τούτων** 'I fastened on and kept hold of them,' i.e. with determined animosity. **παρεδύετο** 'tried to creep or steal into.' Aesch. *Ctes.* 37 *εἰ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν.* **πρεσβείαν** sent in B.C. 343 to prevent Philip from getting hold of the Peloponnese. The ambassadors, of whom D. was one, succeeded in forming a league against him, 3 *Phil.* § 27 etc. **τυράννους**, Cleitarchus, Hipparchus, Automedon and Philistides in Oreus, see 3 *Phil.* § 128: cp. above, § 71, and Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. VI. ch. 45. Grote, vol. XI. p. 254.

§§ 80—86 *But the war having once begun, it was I that proposed effectual measures for carrying it on, in spite of the tyrants Cleitarchus and Philistides, the creatures of Philip, who were Aeschines' friends and guests. For these services I was crowned on the proposal of Aristonicus* [B.C. 340], *it being the second time I had received that honour. And up to that time no one can say that the city suffered any shame by me.*

80 **ἀποστόλους** 'armaments,' which Demosthenes claims to have been sent out in an effective condition owing to his trierarchic law, cp. § 107. **καθ' οὓς** 'owing to which.' **περιεγένετο** 'was the result,' cp. *περίεστι* §§ 128, 201. **τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι...μεμνῆσθαι,** sc. *περιεγένετο* 'while the result to those who despised your advice was a frequent necessity of recalling your warnings.' **ἐκβέβηκεν** a dramatic tense, being exactly the word which they would have used.

81 For Philistides and Cleitarchus see on § 79. **ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς** 'to have these places as bases of operation against you.' With the accusative *ἐπί* often implies hostile motion. With the dative the hostile sense is less common, and no actual attack is implied. Cp. Her. 6, 49 *ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας.* Thucyd. 8, 105 *τὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐχούσας.* **μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι...πανταχοῦ** 'and in regard to his other acts, to avoid being exposed or having anyone examine the injustices he was committing anywhere.' Cp. *πάντων* 'of anything,' § 5.

82 **κατέλυον** 'lodged,' *κατάλυμα*, *deversorium*, the place where the beasts of burden were *unyoked*. Thucyd. 1, 136 uses the verb with *παρά* and the accusative case, *παρὰ τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα καταλῦσαι.* **προὐξένεις** = *ἦσθα πρόξενος*, *patronus eras*. *προξενία* expressed the relation connecting *a state* with an individual of another country; *ξενία* the relation between two individuals of different countries, or that between two different states. **καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ...τήμερον** 'You who say that I hold my peace when I have received a bribe, but make an outcry when I have spent it! At any rate this is not your way. You cry out with the bribe in your pocket; and as for stopping, you will never do that, unless the judges here stop your mouth by disfranchising you this day.' The words of Aeschines are *λαβὼν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας*, *Ctes.* 218. **ἀτιμώσαντες.** If Aeschines failed in obtaining a fifth part of the votes, he would be a state debtor for 1000 drachmae, and till that was paid *ἄτιμος*, and in certain cases a partial *ἀτιμία* seems to have taken the place of the fine, or to have been added to it. See *Dict. Ant.* s.v. *ἐπωβελία.*

83 **καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου** 'and this being now the second time that such a proclamation is to be made,' i.e. in the Theatre. *τούτου* is best taken as referring to the proclamation ordered by the decree of Ctesiphon, which is spoken of as certainly about to take place; hence the present *γιγνομένου*. The point he wishes to insinuate is that as such a proclamation had happened before on the motion of Aristonicus, Aeschines by not objecting then had debarred himself from objecting now. **παρὼν** 'though he was present.'

84 **χρείας** 'services.' Whenever *χρεία* has this sense, it is used in the plural number. **ἀγωνοθέτην** 'the manager.' See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* and cp. Pollux 3, 140.

85 **χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα** 'insulting language or ridicule.' The object of the law confining a proclamation of such rewards to the *βουλευτήριον*, if voted by the *βουλή*, and to the Pnyx, if voted by the ecclesia, seems to have been to avoid any appearance of parade before strangers, provoking disparaging remarks on the state. The audience in the theatre was generally a mixed one; and the touchiness of the Athenians as to discussing national questions before strangers may be illustrated from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (505). There Dicaearchus excuses himself for finding fault with the Athenian policy on the ground that there were no foreigners present

> *αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν οὑπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών,*
> *κοὔπω ξένοι πάρεισιν...*
> *ἀλλ' ἔσμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι.*

ἃ...ἔφη Aesch. *Ctes.* § 227, 231 *αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι;* **ὡς ἑτέρως** cp. § 212. **τυγχάνει...τιμωρίας** 'it meets with punishment.' *τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν* may also in a different context mean 'to obtain vengeance.'

86 **πάντας** must be taken to mean *πάντας τοὺς χρόνους* if it stands. Some editors print *τοὺς χρόνους* from a gloss in one MS. Westermann reads *πάντ'*, which seems an improvement if it had authority. **τῷ νικᾷν λέγων καὶ γράφων** 'by the fact that my speeches always prevailed and my motions were carried,' cp. *νικᾷν γνώμην* Herod. 1, 61. **τῷ...καταπραχθῆναι** 'that they were successfully carried out.' **τῷ...ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι** 'by the fact that you have held sacrifices and solemn processions on the ground of these events being to your advantage.' **προσόδους** = *πομπάς* in § 216.

§§ 87—94 *It was greatly owing to me that Byzantium was relieved and the Chersonese restored to freedom, which the decrees from those places will prove.*

87 ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας see on § 71. In B.C. 341 a military force was sent, by the advice of Demosthenes, under Phocion, against Oreus and Eretria. An Euboic synod was formed under Callias to act with Athens in resisting Philip. Grote, pt. II. c. 90 (vol. XI. p. 257). κἂν διαρραγῶσι sc. *λέγοντες* 'even if they proclaim it till they burst,' 'even if they say it as loud as their lungs will let them.' Or, as some take it, *etiam si rumpantur invidia.* κατὰ...ἐπιτειχισμὸν 'a base of operations against the city,' 'a means of starving it out.' ἐζήτει 'he began to look out for.' σίτῳ...πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ According to Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, p. 81, the importation of corn into Attica was equal to at least a third of the consumption. Demosthenes has the same statement in *c. Lept.* § 31, where he adds that half this supply came from the shores of the Pontus. See also Herod. 7, 147. ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης 'Thracewards.' οὐδ' ἐπὶ...πεποιῆσθαι 'and said that they had not made the alliance on these terms,' i.e. on condition of joining him in offensive wars. χάρακα...πόλει 'throwing up an embankment against the city.' Some MSS. have *χαρακώματα*, and some edd. *χαρακῶμα*. But *χάραξ*, properly the 'palisade' which supports the embankment (*χαρακῶμα*), is frequently used for the whole structure. μηχανήματα are battering rams and other siege artillery. The siege of Byzantium was in B.C. 340. Thirlwall, vol. VI. p. 43. Grote, vol. XI. p. 264.

88 βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις Byzantium was relieved by the combined fleet of Athens, Chios, Rhodes, and other Islands in the course of B.C. 340. ὅταν λέγω 'whenever I say *you* I mean the city.' ἁπλῶς 'wholly and entirely,' *sine ulla tergiversatione*. Cp. § 179.

89 ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς...προῄρηνται 'For the war then commenced, to say nothing of the glory which it brought you, caused you to live with the necessaries of life in greater abundance and at a cheaper price than the present peace,—that peace which these worthy men maintain to the damage of their country with a view to future advantages,—advantages which I pray that they may miss! May they get their share of those blessings which you, the patriotic party, ask of the gods, rather than bestow on you the results of their own policy!' i.e. slavery. ἄνευ τοῦ somewhat unusually for *χωρὶς τοῦ* 'besides the fact that.' διῆγεν 'caused to live.' τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης 'the present peace,' i.e. that under Alexander. ἐλπίσιν is put for the things hoped for. Some would alter καὶ *μετάσχοιεν* to μὴ or *μηδὲ*, and μὴ *μεταδοῖεν* to *μηδὲ*. But this alters the sense without improving it. Demosthenes seems to mean: 'May your patriotic policy prevail, even though they share its

benefits! Rather than that theirs should prevail and involve you in its disasters.'

90 **ἱερομνάμων** 'sacred recorder,' a yearly officer, whose title seems to have been derived from Megara, the mother-city of Byzantium; he was also priest of Poseidon, Müll. *Dorians* 1, 250; 2, 170. **ἁλία** [*ἁλίζω*, *ἡλιαία*] a Dorian name for an 'assembly,' see Polyb. 4, 73, 7, which survived in Attic in the name of the assembly dicasts *ἡλιασταί*. **τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι** 'our allies and kinsmen the Perinthians.' The first epithet may be true, but the second is not so in the ordinary sense; for the Perinthians were an Ionian colony from Samos: yet it is difficult to be certain that some connexion between the towns had not occurred which would justify the term. At any rate the document seems to have been founded on the original. **λαβὼν ῥήτραν** = *λόγου τυχὼν* 'having obtained permission to speak.' Others explain *auctoritate data*, as though *ῥήτρα* = *προβούλευμα*. **δενδροκοπέοντος** 'cutting down trees'; one of the commonest features of an invasion was the cutting down the olives and vines and other trees. Cp. Herod. 6, 75 *ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν*: 9, 15 *ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους*. Thucyd. 1, 108 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδροτομήσαντες*. **ἀμὲ** = *ἡμᾶς*.

91 **ἐπιγαμίαν** *jus connubii*. **μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ** 'after the sacred rites' used in every Greek state before public deliberation. Cp. Arist. *Acharn.* 44, *Thesm.* 330, and *Dict. Ant.* s.v. *ἐκκλησία*. **στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον** in apposition to **εἰκόνας τρεῖς** 'three statues representing the Athenian demos being crowned by the Byzantine demos,' a well-known way for one people to honour another. See Polyb. 5, 88. **εὐχαριστία**. This is not a pure Greek word, though we have *ἀχαριστία* below, § 316. It is to be observed that even if we suppose all these *ψηφίσματα*, etc. genuine, yet Demosthenes is not responsible for the language, except perhaps in those which he quotes as brought forward by himself.

92 **ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα** 'of sixty talents' weight.' *ἀπό* is frequently used to denote the material of which a thing is made up. So in Herod. *ἀπὸ ξύλου πεποιημένα*. Compare the expression *ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα* 'sixty stadia in length,' properly, a distance *made up of* sixty stadia. A talent = 57 lbs. avoirdupois of silver. Reckoning the relative value of gold and silver as 15 : 1, this would amount to 228 lbs. of gold, or about £14,400. **τῆς Φιλίππου**, sub. *δυνάμεως*.

93 **ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία** 'my line of policy,' see note on § 59. **καλοκαγαθίαν** includes sound principle and good manners as well as good birth. Perhaps 'uprightness' will best translate it here.

94 **μεμψάμενοι...ἐκείνοις.** Dobree, *Advers.* I. 48, remarks that *μέμφομαι* is only used with the dative when a *person* is spoken of, when it has the sense of 'being dissatisfied, expostulating with': with the accusative it simply means 'to think ill of, disapprove.' For a general rule in explanation of these double cases, see on *ἐξίσταμαι*, § 319. **μεμψάμενοι...ἂν** 'though you could, if you had wished, have brought up many grievances against them.' *ἄν* with an aorist participle as with an aorist indicative gives the sense of an apodosis of an unfulfilled condition. Here the protasis is implied 'if you had wished.' **περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν** 'on account of the acts of hostility formerly committed against you,' i.e. such as occurred in B.C. 406, and in the social war of B.C. 357—355. **σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα** 'I mean as a mere adviser and orator.' The restriction is introduced because such cases would have been found among military commanders.

§§ 95—101 *And this was a policy worthy of your former actions at Haliartus, Corinth, Peloponnesus, and many other places and times.*

95 **ἵνα τοίνυν...ἐπιδείξω.** The apodosis to this is below, *ἐν ᾗ δύο βούλομαι, κ.τ.λ.* **τοῦτο...ἡγοῦμαι** 'for of this I believe you are *already* well assured.' Cf. § 110 fin. **τῷ...οὕτως...χρήσασθαι** 'but by the fact that, let them be as true as you will, the turn I gave to the affair was the one it was expedient to give,' i.e. the sending assistance to the Byzantines. **πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων** 'by the standard of their most glorious precedents they should at all times endeavour to regulate their subsequent policy.'

96 **Λακεδαιμονίων ... φρουραῖς** referring to the state of things at the end of the Peloponnesian war, when the Spartans sent harmosts or governors to the various states, in many cases supported by garrisons. Euboea was taken by them in B.C. 411 [Thucyd. 8, 93]; Megara in B.C. 424; Aegina cleared of its Athenian settlers in B.C. 405 by Lysander [Thucyd. 2, 27; Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 2, 5]. **Κέων** Ceos was the nearest of the Cyclades to Attica. **τὰς ἄλλας νήσους** 'the rest of island Greece.' For the *harmosts* in the Islands see *Lept.* § 68. The old reading was *Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους.* But Cleonæ is not near Attica, as is implied in *τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.* **οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη** In B.C. 404 Lysander ordered the destruction of the long walls and town walls of Athens, and limited the number of war-ships the Athenians were to have to 12. Xen. *Hell.* 2, 2, 20. Yet there seems reason to suppose that the walls were only so far dismantled as to render them indefensible. Lysias, *Or.* 12, § 74. **ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἁλίαρτον** This was an expedition to assist the Thebans

against Lysander, who however was defeated and killed before the Athenians got there, B.C. 395, Xenoph. *Hell.* 3, 5, 16. **εἰς Κόρινθον** Soon after the affair of Haliartus, probably in B.C. 394, the allied army, in which were 6000 Athenians, mustered near Corinth and were defeated by the Spartans, Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 2, 16—23. **πολλ' ἂν ἐχόντων** 'though they might have had ground enough,' i.e. if they had chosen to do so. **Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον** The occupation of Deceleia by the Spartans from B.C. 413 to 404 had been the most annoying incident in the Peloponnesian war to the Athenians, and the Thebans and Corinthians had both joined in assisting the Spartans. Thucyd. 7, 19.

97 **ταῦτα ἀμφότερα** 'both these expeditions,' i.e. to Haliartus and Corinth. **ὀρθῶς...βουλευόμενοι** 'and a right and noble decision it was,' the participle *βουλευόμενοι* referring to the preceding verb *ἤθελον*: in Latin *et quidem*, *et sane*, with the indicative. *Mid.* 517 *καλῶς καὶ ξυμφερόντως ἔχων ὁ νόμος*, *et bene sane habet haec lex*, v. Buttmann, in loco. **πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν...γενναίως** 'for whereas the goal to which all men alike are brought by life is death, yea though one keep himself barred up in a closet; it behoves the brave to take in hand whatever honourable enterprise may from time to time present itself, arming themselves with the hope of good speed as with a buckler; and to bear with magnanimity whatever fate heaven may award them.' Cp. Propert. 3, 18, 25 *Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.* **προβαλλομένους**, *sibi ut clypeum protendentes*, cp. § 195 fin. 'To shield another' would be *προβεβλῆσθαι τινος*. Cp. Tyrtaeus fr. 15

ἄγετ' ὦ Σπάρτης εὐάνδρου
κοῦροι πατέρων πολιητᾶν,
λαιᾷ μὲν ἴτυν προβάλεσθε
δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως βάλλετε.

98 **Λακεδαιμονίους**, governed by *ἀπελεῖν*. **ἐν Λεύκτροις** B.C. 371. The Thebans afterwards entered the Peloponnese and founded Megalopolis and Messene as centres of an anti-Spartan league. **οὐδ' ὑπὲρ...διαλογισάμενοι** 'nor taking at all into consideration *how badly* (*οἷα*) those men had treated you for whom you were to peril yourselves.'

99 **τούτων...ὑπολογιεῖσθε** 'you are prepared to shew your anger for such actions on all other occasions; but, when they are in danger of life or freedom, you will neither bear malice nor bring up their conduct against them.' *ὑπολογίζεσθαι* = 'to take into account.' Cp. *in Phorm.* § 48 *ἀξιοῦντες μηδέν' ὑπόλογον εἴ ποτε τοῦ σου πατρὸς ἐγένετο.* **Εὔβοιαν** In B.C. 358 the Thebans were called in by a party in Euboea, while the other party called in the Athenians, who compelled the Thebans

to give way. Diodor. 16, 7. **Θεμίσωνος...Ὠρωπὸν** Themison and Theodorus, tyrants of Eretria, assisted certain exiles from Oropus to return and seize that town, then in possession of the Athenians, B.C. 366. The Athenians sent a force under Chares, who apparently failed to take the town, for he agreed to a compromise whereby it was to be held by the Thebans pending an arbitration. Xen. *Hellen.* 7, 4, 1. Demosthenes observes that the unfriendly attitude then taken by the Eretrians did not prevent the Athenians helping them in B.C. 358. It is not a very forcible remark; for in B.C. 358 the Athenians were helping a faction in Euboea, which would have been equally well disposed to them, if it had been in power in B.C. 366. **τῶν ἐθελοντῶν...πόλει** 'the volunteer trierarchs on that occasion being the first that appeared in the state.' This was the origin of the 3rd form of trierarchy by *συντέλειαι* or companies of contributors. In B.C. 358 it was voluntary and a novelty.

100 **μηδὲν...ὑπολογισάμενοι** cp. § 99. **ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε** 'in dealing with what was intrusted to your good faith,' i.e. you did not take advantage of the wrongs done you by the Eretrians to retain their property intrusted to you. **τῆς... ἐλευθερίας** 'for the sake of liberty.' This use of a genitive to express the object or purpose, without any words such as *ἕνεκα* or *χάριν*, is more common in the case of *τοῦ* with infinitives. But cp. *de F. Leg.* 76 *δῆλόν ἐστι σαφῶς ὅτι ἡ πᾶσα ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου.*

101 **ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς...οὔσης** 'when the matter under consideration was in a certain sense her own safety.' For **τρόπον τινὰ** cp. § 43. **τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν** 'what was I to urge her to do?' *ἔμελλον* is less than *ἔδει* but somewhat more than a simple future, 'what was it likely that I, considering the circumstances, should advise?' **νὴ Δία** is ironical, indicating that the suggestion is not that of the speaker, but one which he rejects. **τό γε ἔργον** 'the actual thing,' suggested by **λόγῳ μόνον** 'even in word,' above.

§§ 102—109 *Another instance of my excellent services to the state is my law on the subject of the trierarchies* [B.C. 340], *for which I was impeached and acquitted triumphantly. It was resisted by the rich, but its effects were excellent, for it placed the burden on those best able to bear it.*

102 **τούτων**, governed by **ἑξῆς**. **καταλυόμενον** 'going to ruin.' **τοὺς πλουσίους...γιγνομένους** 'the rich becoming exempt for a small outlay; the citizens of moderate or small property gradually losing even that; and, moreover, the state being, from these causes, too late (with its naval equipments) for the occasions which demanded them.' **ἀτελεῖς** 'getting their discharge from the *τριηραρχία*.' **ὑστερίζουσαν...τῶν καίρων**

'being too late for action in war.' Cp. Polyb. 9, 15 'in all human undertakings opportuneness (*καιρός*) is the most important thing, but especially in operations of war.' **ἔθηκα νόμον** 'I proposed a law.' *θεῖναι νόμον*, properly applied to a legislator who was *αὐτοκράτωρ*, *θέσθαι νόμον* to one who proposed laws binding on himself as well as the community, as in a republic. This latter was always limited to its original sense: *θεῖναι νόμον* came to be used irregularly. A scheme for the reform of the Trierarchy had been enunciated by Demosthenes in his speech *on the Symmories* in B.C. 354, but it apparently was not carried out or passed in the form of a law. When, however, Demosthenes was *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* in B.C. 340, he carried a law making the contribution to the trierarchy, which used to be the same to all members of the Symmory, depend upon the amount of the rateable property of each. See *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. *τριηραρχία*.

103 **καὶ γραφεὶς.. ἀπέφυγον** 'and when an indictment was laid against me, I came into court before you to meet the suit arising from this law (*τοῦτον*), and was acquitted.' **τὸν ἀγῶνα ...εἰσῆλθον** 'I was indicted.' *εἰσῆλθον* is properly *εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, i.e. either to prosecute or defend a suit. In this sense therefore it can take the accusative *τὸν ἀγῶνα* as though of cognate meaning. Cp. *εἰσιέναι* Aeschines *Ctes.* § 192 *εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφήν*. **τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων** See §§ 250, 266. **καίτοι... ὑπωμοσίᾳ** 'and yet how much do you imagine the first men in the Symmories, or the second and third (in order of wealth), offered me, to induce me, if possible, not to propose the law at all; or, if not, at least to suffer it to become a dead letter by taking the oath for postponement?' **καταβάλλοντα** Others read *καταβαλόντα* 'having recorded it.' If the present be read —and the MSS. authority is in favour of it—we must translate either (1) 'when entering it,' or (2) 'by dropping it,' regarding the word as an expansion of *ἐᾶν*. **ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ** 'when the notice of indicting it was given.' The *ὑπωμοσία* was properly a sworn deposition stating reasons for the postponement of a suit. As the notice of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* had the effect of postponing a law until the suit was decided, this notice came to be called by the same name. See *Dict. of Ant.* s. v. *δίκη*.

104 **συνεκκαίδεκα** 'sixteen to one vessel.' They were in the habit of farming out their shares in the trierarchy by paying one talent, which was almost covered by the joint contributions of the other members of the Symmory, an abuse to which Demosthenes' law put a stop. **μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν** 'little *or* nothing.' Cp. § 12; so 130 *χθὲς καὶ πρῴην*. Cp. §§ 179, 243. Soph. *Antig.* 323; *Trach.* 34. **τὸ γιγνόμενον** *rata portio*, the sum fixed by assessment according to their property. Cp. *Timocrat.* 82 *γράψας ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ τιμήματος...τὸ*

ἀργύριον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ 'τὸ γιγνόμενον'...ὃ ὤφλεν. **καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη ...συντελής** 'and it became manifest that he who had previously borne but a sixteenth part of the expense of one vessel, might now have to furnish two by himself.' The 16th part of the expense fell heavily on the poorer, lightly on the richer members of the Symmory. Moreover, as the richer undertook the practical work, they farmed it out to some one else for little or nothing more than they collected from their Symmory. **οὐδὲ γὰρ...ἔτι** the force of *ἔτι* is '*so far* had abuses gone under the old system, that they *no longer* called themselves trierarchs but contributories.' **οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν** 'they were prepared to give anything.'

105 **καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν** 'on account of which I was indicted,' see above § 103. **εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικόν.** Schaefer takes this to mean 'the contributing body'; others with greater probability interpret it 'the Trierarchic court'; and Taylor translates it 'the Admiralty.' Some edd. omit *εἰς τό*. **Ψήφισμα.** This document is not a decree, but apparently an entry in some register, perhaps ancient and quoting the formal part of the real decree.

106 **τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον** 'that fine roll,' ironical, i.e. the old roll of citizens entered to contribute to the Trierarchies. But instead of a 'roll' we have what seem to be clauses in the two contrasted laws themselves. **συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν** 'sixteen joint-trierarchs of the joint contributories in the Symmories.' *λόχος* is a Lacedaemonian military term for 'a company'; it was only used in the Athenian army for 'a detachment' told off on the spot for some particular service. It is here used for the temporary association of taxpayers. **ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους** 'each paying the same contribution.' **χορηγίᾳ** = *λειτουργίᾳ*. **αἱρεῖσθαι** 'let the trierarchs be chosen,' *leguntor*. **ἐὰν δὲ...χρημάτων** 'but if the assessed property be found to contain money over and above the ten talents.' **ὑπηρετικοῦ** 'a tender.' **εἰς συντέλειαν...τάλαντα** 'being formed into a contributing body, until they make up the *required sum* of ten talents' (*τὰ δέκα*). Each company of 16 were bound to make up a rateable property of ten talents as a minimum, on which they were to supply one trireme. If the combined property of the 16 was more than ten talents the contributions were to increase in proportion, but only up to a maximum of the cost of 3 triremes and a tender.

107 **ἀναλῶσαι ἂν** 'would have paid.' For *ἂν* with infin. see § 147. **οὐ τοίνυν...δεδωκέναι** 'I pride myself therefore not merely on the fact that I refused to drop these proceedings, nor that I was acquitted when an indictment was laid against me; but because the law I proposed was a beneficial one, and because I gave the test of experience to its operation.' **καθυφεῖναι** 'to

compromise,' lit. 'to lower sail,' cp. *Mid.* § 39 *καθυφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα.* **ἀποστόλων** 'naval armaments,' § 80. Thucyd. 8. 9. 2 *αἴτιον τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν νεῶν.* **ἱκετηρίαν** sc. *ῥάβδον* 'the olive branch of a suppliant,'—a branch wrapped in wool and deposited on the altar. *θεῖναι ἱκετηρίαν* accordingly means 'to appeal.' **παρ' ὑμῖν** 'before you,' i.e. in the Pnyx or in the *βουλευτήριον*, where such appeal and formal depositing of the suppliant bough took place. Cp. Arist. *Plut.* 383 *ὁρῶ τιν' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεδούμενον, ἱκετηρίαν ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν παιδίων.* **ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο** 'took his seat as a suppliant in the temple of the Thracian Artemis or Bendis,' whose shrine in Munychia had the privilege of sanctuary, Plato *Repub.* 1, 328. Livy 38, 41. **ἀποστολέων** 'the members of the naval board,' who were ten in number, and whose duty was to see that the triremes were properly equipped and to prosecute defaulting trierarchs. See *in Euerg.* § 26 *προσεκαλεσάμην αὐτὸν πρός τε τοὺς ἀποστολέας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν νεωρίων ἐπιμελητάς· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσῆγον τότε τὰς διαδικασίας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον περὶ τῶν σκευῶν.* **ἐδέθη** 'was thrown into prison.' **ἔξω** 'outside the harbour,' **αὐτοῦ** 'in the harbour.'

108 **κατὰ...νόμους** 'under the former laws.' **ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν** 'devolved upon the poor.' **πολλὰ...συνέβαινεν** 'the cases of impossibility to meet the demand which occurred were numerous.' See § 38. **πάντ' οὖν...ἐγίγνετο** 'consequently all that the public service required was forthcoming.' The real duties of the trierarchs seem to have consisted in keeping the triremes supplied by the state in repair, and restoring them with all their tackle complete to the state after service. The amount of such expense would therefore be much affected, among other things, by the original state of the vessel; and hence it was a bad thing to have an old vessel: see Aristoph. *Eq.* 912 where Cleon says to the Sausage-seller

> *ἐγώ σε ποιήσω τριη-*
> *ραρχεῖν, ἀναλίσκοντα τῶν*
> *σαυτοῦ, παλαιὰν ναῦν ἔχοντ'*
> *εἰς ἣν ἀναλῶν οὐκ ἐφέ-*
> *ξεις οὐδὲ ναυπηγούμενος.*

βάσκανον *invidum* 'spiteful.' 'No political measure of mine is dictated by spite, bitterness, or malignity.'

109 **ἔχων...φανήσομαι** 'it will be *clearly proved* that I have,' which is always the force of *φαίνομαι* with the participle. **οὔτε...συμφερόντων** i.e. my conduct in home politics is the same as in foreign,—to prefer the interests of all to that of individuals.

§§ 110—121 *I must now reply to the charges of technical illegality alleged against the probouleuma: viz. that* (1) *it proposes to crown me while subject to audit,* (2) *proposes to proclaim that honour in the theatre. And first as to audit: I was crowned really for public benefactions which being voluntary and supererogatory are not subject to audit,—a distinction which has precedents* (§ 117). *Secondly, as to the proclamation in the theatre: If it is lawful to accept such benefactions, it is lawful to give thanks for them; the place of doing that is unimportant; and in point of fact the law admits such proclamation in the Theatre* (§§ 120—1).

110 **περὶ...εὐθυνῶν** 'the charge against Ctesiphon's probouleuma, in regard to the place of proclaiming my crown, and the fact of my receiving it whilst still subject to audit.' These are really the only *legal* points at issue, the question of whether Demosthenes deserved the crown or no being one of opinion not of law,—they are also the weakest points of Demosthenes' case, and are therefore thrown into the middle of the speech. **καίτοι ...γε** nearly always separated by one or more words: Porson on *Medea* 675. *μέντοι γε* need not be so separated, § 112. **τοὺς... λόγους ἀποδοῦναι** 'to state my case on the question of the mere illegality of the probouleuma.' *ἀποδοῦναι λόγους* for *ἀπολογεῖσθαι* is an unusual phrase. The passive *ἀπεδόθη αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος* (see Aeschin. *Ctes.* 54) is used meaning 'the right of speaking was given them in their turn.' And perhaps there is some notion here of 'paying' a debt, in thus reverting to the legal arguments so long omitted. *διδόναι λόγους* 'to discuss,' or, 'to state a case,' is a more common phrase, cp. Aristoph. *Plut.* 467; Xen. *Hellen.* 1, 1, 27.

111 **τῶν μὲν οὖν...νόμων** 'of the arguments then which he promiscuously jumbled together, when speaking of the laws which you see suspended near that of Ctesiphon' (*παραγεγραμμένων*), i.e. the former laws, for violating which Ctesiphon was to be convicted by *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and which were hung up on a tablet (*σανίδιον*) by the side of the defendant's law, for the judges to compare. **τὴν ὀρθὴν** sc. *ὁδὸν* 'I will conduct my argument straightforwardly.' **διωρίζετο** 'distinctly asserted,' cp. § 40. **διακεχείρικα** 'I have administered'; this verb is peculiarly applied to the administration of the public money. Aesch. *Ctes.* 27.

112 **δέδωκα** Demosthenes' argument is that though *ὑπεύθυνος* for his office, what he is really being rewarded for is money given freely, for which of course he is not subject to audit. **μισανθρωπίας** 'churlishness,' 'inhumanity.' **καὶ τούτους...ἐφιστάναι** 'and to constitute them (scil. the informers) inspectors over the accounts of sums he has voluntarily contri-

buted.' εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος 'but if my opponent says there is such a law, let him produce it.' στέρξω 'I will acquiesce,' in which sense ἀγαπῶ is also used. Cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 458 *στέργουσι δ', οἶμαι, συμφορᾷ νικώμενοι.*

113 θεωρικῷ: see on § 118. ἐπέδωκα 'I voluntarily contributed,'—the force of *ἐπί* is 'in addition to what I needed to pay.' ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα (*ἡ βουλή*) These words are quoted as Aeschines' own, as also below, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα.* καὶ διά γε...περὶ ἐμοῦ 'Yes, and for this very reason a vote of thanks was justly passed in my favour, because I freely gave the sums expended, and did not enter them in the public accounts. For accounts, it is true, demand an audit and scrutineers; but a free gift should, in common justice, meet with gratitude and public thanks. Acting on this principle, Ctesiphon here proposed these honours in my case.' δωρεά always 'a gift,' never 'a bribe.'

114 ἤθεσιν 'code of morality,' 'moral duties,' in opposition to *νόμοι* here, and in § 275. In Plato it is frequently opposed to *ἔθη.* ἐστεφάνωται...ἐστεφανοῦντο...τετίμηται. Remark the change of tense. The perfect denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living; the imperfect, that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. τῶν δοθέντων depends both on *χάριν* and *εὐθύνας* 'instead of getting gratitude for what they have given, they stand an audit of it.'

115 τούτοις 'in honour of these men.' See § 118 *τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ γραφέν μοι.* αὐτά 'the actual original documents.' οὐκ εἰσέπραξε 'did not exact it,' 'charge it to the people.'

116 πρυτάνεων λεγόντων 'the Prytanies putting the motion in accordance with a vote of the Boulè.' The phrase is unusual; the Prytanies were said *ἐπιψηφίζειν.* ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ This has been variously explained as referring to the stream called Bocarus in Salamis, and the Cephisus. But we have no means of settling the question. σκυλευθέντων 'having been stripped of their arms,' i.e. having lost their shields. τοὺς νεανίσκους 'the young recruits,' thus *οἱ νέοι* often, at any rate in later Greek, means 'the soldiers.' ἀσπίσιν the heavy shield was an expensive part of a soldier's equipment, and the supply of them was not an uncommon form for private liberality to take. See Plutarch, *Vitae X. Orat.* p. 835.

117 νὴ Δί'...κατηγόρεις 'Well, but I abused my power when in office, say you? granting this, how was it that you, though present when the public accountants brought me into court, spoke not a word in accusation?' *νὴ Δία* in Demosthenes generally serves to usher in the adversary's objection in an

ironical manner, as here: *νὴ τὸν Δία* is strongly affirmative. **εἰσῆγον** various magistrates, such as the archons, logistae and others, held preliminary investigations of all cases, and, if they thought that a prima facie case was made out, brought the parties into the court to which their particular case appertained [*εἰσάγειν δίκην*, *εἰσαγωγεύς*]. Thus the *logistae* here are said *εἰσάγειν*, for the audit was a species of trial, in the course of which anyone (*ὁ βουλόμενος*) might allege some misconduct against the ex-magistrate; and the logistae, if they thought that there was reasonable cause, would then bring it before a court. **οἱ λογισταί** ten officers who audited the accounts of the magistrates within 30 days of the termination of their offices.

118 **οἷς γὰρ...φανήσεται** 'By the points in the senate's decree which he abstained from accusing *then*, by these he will be proved to be calumniating me in the present prosecution'; i.e. because he made no accusation then, he is proved to be making a false one now. *οἷς* is attracted to the case of *τούτοις*. **ἃ διώκει** 'in regard to those which he *does* prosecute.' **τοῖς θεωροῖς** 'to the commissioners for religious services,' the accepted emendation of Schaefer for *τοῖς θεωρικοῖς*. The latter is usually supposed to mean 'in addition to the regular theoric fund collected from all the tribes.' But no such special collection for the theoric fund is known to have taken place. And though the persons superintending sacrifices, etc. are not elsewhere called *θεωροί*, it seems a more natural use than the other. **εἰς θυσίας** The theoric fund would legitimately be expended in festivals and sacrifices, though not for military purposes, in consequence of the law of Eubulus (see *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. *θεωρικά*). This law of Eubulus Demosthenes found to stand greatly in the way of his plans for the national defence; but he did not succeed in getting it repealed till B.C. 339, shortly before the battle of Chaeroneia.

119 **ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος...θεῶν** 'But what sort of man should we characterise as 'utterly wicked,' 'God-forsaken,' 'truly malignant'? Is it not the man whose actions I have been describing?'

120 **καὶ μὴν** 'and next,' § 14. **σκαιὸς** properly 'left-handed,' and hence 'clumsy,' metaphorically 'foolish,' opp. to *δεξιός*, 'clever.' It answers exactly to the French word *gauche*. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 54 *si mens non laeva fuisset*, and Hor. *A. P.* 301 *O ego laevus, qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam.* **ΝΟΜΟΣ** Aeschines *Ctes.* 32 quoted the law to show that the only exception to the rule against proclamations in the Theatre, was in the case of crowns given by foreign states. The law here quoted allows it in all cases where the crown is voted by Senate or people. As the document is spurious we cannot

decide: but see Notes to Aesch. *Ctes.* and Append. A. **στεφανοῖ**, subjunctive mood.

121 **ἀναγορευέτω** sc. *ὁ κῆρυξ.* **τί σαυτὸν...ἐπὶ τούτοις;** 'why do you not dose yourself with hellebore after such conduct?' i.e. to bring your senses back to you. Hellebore, *veratrum*, a plant used by ancient doctors for various purposes, was specially employed in the cure of madness. Cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 1489 *πίθ' ἐλλέβορον* 'you are mad.' Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 82 *danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris.* **φθόνου δίκην**, cp. § 13. **νόμους μεταποιῶν** The full construction of this elliptical clause would be *καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.* **τοῖς γε...ψηφιεῖσθαι** 'at least to men who had sworn to vote in accordance with the laws.' The oath as given in *Timocr.* § 149 begins *ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.*

§§ 122—125 *Aeschines tries to make up for the badness of his case by personal abuse; which I will now repay by a review of his own career and character.*

122 **ἔπειτα...κομιζόμενος** 'Next, though your own conduct is such as I have described, you make a list of the proper qualifications for a popular leader; just as one who has ordered a statue to be made according to a contract, and on delivery finds it deficient in the specified qualities.' See Aesch. *Ctes.* 168. **συγγραφή** any written agreement between two or more parties. **ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς...γιγνωσκομένους** understand *ὥσπερ* from the previous clause, 'or as though politicians did not become known by their actions and political conduct.' This accusative absolute, or accusative in apposition to the sentence with *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ*, should be distinguished from the ordinary accusative absolute of neuter participles, though Madvig, *Gr. Gr.* § 182, seems to combine them. **ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα**, *fanda nefanda*, *quicquid in buccam venerit.* Cp. *Midias*, § 79; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1001, etc. **ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης**, scil. *αἱ γυναῖκες.* Bentley, in the *Phalaris*, particularly warns us not to apply this expression to the ancient players' cart of Thespis, but to the carts used in the festivals of Bacchus and Eleusis, in which the women were conveyed, and from whence they were wont to abuse one another. Arist. *Plut.* 1013 *μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην Ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης.* "Upon which passage of Aristoph.," says Bentley, "the old scholiast and Suidas have this note: 'In those carts the women made abusive jests upon one another, especially at a bridge over the Cephissus, where the procession used to stop a little: from whence to abuse was called *γεφυρίζειν.*'" But besides the Eleusinian there was the same custom in many other festival pomps; whence it was that *πομπεύειν* and *πομπεία* came at last to signify scoffing and railing.

123 **καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο**, understand *σκοπεῖτε*: cp. *Fals. Leg.* 314 (360) *καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο.* **λοιδορίαν...κατηγορίας** Cicero has reproduced this sentiment, *pro Cael.* § 6, sed aliud est maledicere aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet: maledictio autem nihil habet propositi praeter contumeliam. **ἔχειν** 'implies.' **ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων** 'from our private animosities.' **κακῶς**, another reading is *κακῶν*, but **κακῶς λέγωμεν** = *maledicamus*, which requires the limitation of *τὰ ἀπόρρητα*, 'shameful language, which ought under no circumstances to be used.'

124 **οὐ μὴν...ἀπελθεῖν** 'even in this (*ἐνταῦθα*, i.e. 'personal abuse') however he ought to get as much as he gives.' **ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπελθεῖν** 'to get off with less,' cp. § 244 and *ἀπηλλάχασιν* § 65. **εἶτα οὗ...λαβεῖν** 'yet when you might have exacted a penalty according to the laws for these things, if, as you assert, I were acting illegally, you shirked the undertaking, whether at the audit, or by indictment, or by any other form of trial': i.e. Aeschines might have objected to the official conduct of Demosthenes at his audit (see § 117) or by laying a public indictment against him (*γραφή*) or in other ways, according to the nature of the charge. The plural is used in speaking generally of these methods of procedure, without defining time or place. **ὑπὲρ τούτων** 'in the service of these men,' i.e. of the Athenians, cp. §§ 125, 131.

125 **ἅπασι** 'on all counts—law, limitation of time, previous acquittal, high character for patriotism etc.' **τῇ προθεσμίᾳ** the 'limitation' of time assigned by the laws to prosecutions, which in the case of other civil accusations was five years after the alleged offence, and in the case of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* one year. In this case, however, the *law* might be indicted afterwards, though the proposer was safe. See *pro Phorm.* § 26, *in Nausic.* § 28. Cases of sacrilege and the like, appear to have been not protected by this statute of limitations, see Lys. 7, § 17. **τῷ κεκρίσθαι...πολλάκις** 'by the fact that a legal decision had been pronounced upon them all several times.' He refers apparently to all points in his career that had been made a subject of litigation, especially in regard to the action of Philocles against his trierarchic law. **ὅρα...προσποιῇ** 'take care lest you be found to be the enemy of these your countrymen, while you pretend to be only mine.' **τούτων** § 124.

§§ 126—159 *The public and private life of Aeschines. His servile origin* (129—131): *his patronage of public enemies* (132—3): *his rejection by the people as an advocate* (134—5): *his subservience to Philip's envoy* (136): *his dealing with a spy* (137): *his unpatriotic conduct in face of Philip's encroach-*

ments (139—142, B.C. 341): *his responsibility for the Amphissian war* (143—150), *which led to Philip's interference* (151), *and his election as general* (152). *Then it was I that saved the state by rousing the Thebans* (153—5): *while Aeschines and his party were the causes of Philip's intrigues in the Peloponnese* (156—159).

126 **ἡ εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία** 'the verdict which would be at once in keeping with your oath, and the facts of the case.' **αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ'** 'the barest possible statement of the facts' as opp. to *πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν*. **τίς ὢν...διασύρει** 'who and of what family he is, that so glibly sets the example of foul language, and what sort of expressions he criticises.' **ῥᾳδίως** *temere* 'unscrupulously,' in a bad sense; as § 70 *ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅτι ἂν βούληθῇς*. **ἃ τίς...φθέγξασθαι**; an indignant question takes the place of the expected apodosis. 'Having yourself said what no decent man would utter,' is put as a rhetorical question, 'Having yourself said things which—what decent man would utter?' Cp. § 294.

127 **σπερμολόγος** 'a babbler,' prop. one who picks up scandal as a bird does grain, Acts 17, 18. **περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς** =*ἀγοραῖος*, 'this hack of the market-place,' i.e. versed in all its tricks. Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 447 *περίτριμμα δικῶν*: Soph. *Ajax* 103 *ἢ τοὐπίτριπτον κίναδος* (tricksy fox) *ἐξῄρου μ' ὅπου*; **ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς** 'a pestilent assembly-clerk.' *ὄλεθρος*=*ὀλέθριος*. *γραμματεύς*, see *Fals. Leg.* §§ 109, 360. **σύνεσιν...ἐπικαλούμενον** 'appealing to intelligence and education.' See Aesch. *Ctes.* fin. *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ᾗ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά.*

128 **ὦ κάθαρμα** 'you abomination.' The general explanation of this word is founded on the note of the Scholiast to Aristoph. *Equit.* 1144 (1136), who, commenting on the word *δημοσίους*, says that certain worthless persons were reserved to be sacrificed at times of special danger, cp. *Ran.* 734. But the writer of the note seems to waver between the explanations of *δημοσίους βοῦς ἢ ταύρους* and that of human victims. And the reality of human sacrifice in historical times at Athens rests on very weak authority. **τίς διάγνωσις** 'what faculty of discerning?' **πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι** 'on what grounds and in what sense qualified?' **ποῦ** 'on what right?' cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1100 *ποῦ σὺ στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε*; **τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι...περίεστιν** 'but to those who fail in obtaining it, like you, yet pretend to it out of sheer stupidity, the result is that they vex their hearers when they speak, but do not get the credit of really being what they set up for.' **ἀπολειφθεῖσι**, literally, 'who are left behind by it.' **ἀναισθησίας**, see on § 35.

129 **γράμματα**, see on § 265. **χοίνικας** 'shackles for the legs.' Arist. *Plut.* 276 *αἱ κνημαὶ δέ σοὶ βοῶσιν 'Ιοὺ ἰού· τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.* **ξύλον** 'a wooden collar,' *furca.* Arist. *Nub.* 592 *εἶτα φιμώσητε τούτου τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν αὔχενα.* Cp. *Equit.* 367, 394. These *χοίνικες* and *ξύλον* were combined in the *πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον* mentioned in Arist. *Equit.* 1049, which was a kind of stocks furnished with five holes, to admit the head, arms, and legs. **ἡ μήτηρ...ἐξέθρεψε** 'or that your mother, by prostituting herself in the daytime at the brothel near the shop of Heros, the surgeon, managed to rear you, the beautiful statue and eminent third-rate actor that you are!' Two actors only were generally on the stage together; when a third was there he played only an inferior part. Pollux (4, 124) when describing the doors for the entrance of the first and second actor, does not take the third into account. *μεθημερινός* = *diurnus*, *καθημερινός*, *quotidianus.* **πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἥρωι** 'near the shop of the surgeon Heros' (*κάλαμος* and *καλαμίσκος* 'a surgeon's probe,' Arist. *Acharn.* 1034). Cp. *Fals. Leg.* 279 *ἡ μήτηρ...καρπουμένη τὰς τῶν χρωμένων οἰκίας ἐξέθρεψε τοσούτους τουτουσὶ...διδάσκων δ' ὁ πατὴρ γράμματα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ.* **τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα** 'the fine fellow.' Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 394 *ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν 'ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάς μου.'* For the appellation of a 'statue' for a favourite object, see Eurip. *Hippol.* 630, where of the husband it is said

> *ὁ δ' αὖ λαβὼν ἀτηρὸν ἐς δόμους κακόν*
> *γέγηθε κόσμον προστιθεὶς ἀγάλματι*
> *καλὸν κακίστῳ.*

ὀκνῶ μὴ...λόγους 'I fear in rightly describing you I may have to use language unbecoming to myself.' So Cicero feigns to be ashamed to mention some of Antony's misdemeanours, 2 *Philipp.* § 47. Polybius (12, 14) says in regard to abusive language, the first consideration should be, not what our enemies deserve to be called, but what our self-respect will allow us to call them:—a principle which Demosthenes honours in words, though this whole passage violates it in fact.

130 **οὐδὲ γὰρ...καταρᾶται** 'for he was not born merely of ordinary parents, but of such as the community execrates'; though Dissen refers *ὧν ἔτυχεν* to the *actions* of Aeschines. **ὀψὲ** translated by Kennedy and by several editors 'lately' *nuper*, for which I think there is no authority. It means 'late in life,' 'late in his career,' though of course that would be comparatively 'recent' when Demosthenes was speaking. **χθὲς καὶ πρῴην** lit. 'yesterday *or* the day before,' cp. *μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν* § 104. **Γλαυκοθέαν** d. of Glaucus of Acharnae: the shortened form *Glaucis* is sometimes found. **Ἔμπουσαν.** Cp. Arist. *Ran.* 293, to which passage Demosthenes probably alludes; it points

the meaning of **κύων**, Empusa being a dog-shaped female goblin, who transforms herself in many ways. **πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν** *quidvis et facere et pati*. Cp. Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 86.

131 **οὐχ ὅπως...ἔχεις** 'you are so far from being grateful.' *οὐχ ὅπως* for *οὐκ ἐρῶ ὅπως*=*non modo* in Latin: but this last can only be used in negative statements, as when followed by *ne quidem*. **τουτουσὶ** the Athenians, cp. § 124. **περὶ ὧν... εἴρηκεν** 'as to those speeches which admit of being referred to patriotic motives.'

132 **ἀποψηφισθεὶς** 'rejected from the civic register,' which was made up by a *διαψήφισις*, *recensio*, such as revising-barristers take in England. Such a man could recover his *status* by a *δίκη ξενίας*. **τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας** 'the unfortunate,' an euphemism for *ἀτίμους* 'disfranchised.' **ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων** 'entering private houses' for the purpose of search. Thus Lysias (12 § 8) says of the agents of the Thirty *διαλαβόντες τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον*. It was a particularly offensive and unpopular proceeding. See c. *Androt.* § 50 *εἶτ' ἔχων τούτους (τοὺς ἕνδεκα) ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν οἰκίας.*

133 **καὶ εἰ μὴ...τοῦτον** 'had not the senate of the Areopagus, hearing of the transaction and marking your mistimed culpable carelessness, made further search for the fellow, apprehended him, and brought him up again for trial before you; this wretch would have been snatched out of your hands, shirked the penalty due to his crimes, and left the country by the help of this fine-spoken gentleman here: but as it was, you ordered him for torture and execution, as you *ought* to have done to Aeschines too.' **ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν** for pluperf. with *ἂν* see § 9. **νῦν δ'** 'but in fact,' 'as it turned out,' § 153. **στρεβλώσαντες** 'after putting him to the rack,' as being no longer a citizen.

134 **ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου** On this occasion the Areopagus appears to have acted not as a court of justice, but as having a general care and superintendence of the interests of the state. *Ἀθην. πολ.* § 23. Though not frequently acting in this way, it came forward in grave crises; for example, during the removal before the battle of Salamis [Plut. *Themis.* 10], and in B.C. 405 at the time of terrified expectation after the battle of Aegospotami [Lysias 12 § 69]. The council on the occasion to which Demosthenes refers did not try Antiphon, but laid an information (*ἀπόφασις*) before the people. Deinarch. 1, 63 *ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες.* **σύνδικος** properly defendant's counsel, and *συνήγορος* plaintiff's. But the two words came to be used indiscriminately for any advocate. **ὑπὲρ...Δήλῳ** 'in the case of the temple of Delphi.' The Athenians claimed the

management of it; and the claim was tried by the Amphictyonic Council in B.C. 345. Delos had been in the hands of the Athenians since they banished the inhabitants to Adramyttium in B.C. 422. At the end of the Peloponnesian war the Delians apparently endeavoured to recover control of the temple. **προείλεσθε** 'you had selected it also.' This is not clear, but as it is the technical word for the Areopagus undertaking any matter of its own accord it is conjectured that we should read *ὡς προείλετο* (sc. *ἡ βουλὴ*) *κἀκείνην ὑμεῖς τοῦ πράγματος. κ. ἑ.* Others read *προσείλεσθε* 'you associated with yourselves.' **κἀκείνην** scil. *τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν* 'inasmuch as you had selected this court to act for you and made it supreme over the matter.' **ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ** Each person seems to have taken the voting tablet which he was to use off the altar. For this solemnity, cp. Herod. 8, 123. Cic. *pro Balb.* § 5 *cum quis, ut mos Graecorum est, jurandi causa ad aras accederet.*

135 **συνεδρεύσαντες** 'having formed a *συνέδριον* or assembly.' The Areopagus was frequently called *συνέδριον* (Boeckh, *Oec.* p. 418, cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* 19). **τούτου μέλλοντος** sc. *λέγειν* 'when he was about to speak for the country.' The reading however is not satisfactory. Σ has *λέγοντος*, 'when he was actually speaking.' Blass gives *μέλλοντος* [*λέγειν*]. In any case the gen. abs. with *ἀπήλασεν* without an object is a harsh construction. A more intelligible reading is that in Rosenberg's recension of Westermann's edition *τοῦτον τοῦ λέγειν ἀπήλασεν*, but I know not on what authority it rests.

136 **νεανίου.** Aeschines was forty-five years old at the time spoken of, for Antiphon was executed B.C. 344. *νεανίου* must therefore be used ironically 'this fine fellow,' with the idea of impudence; cp. § 313; Eur. *Suppl.* 580; Lysias 10 § 29; Plat. *Gorg.* 508 D; Arist. *Vesp.* 1307. **Πύθωνι.** This mission of Python is not elsewhere mentioned. It seems to have been either just before Chaeronea (B.C. 338), or in B.C. 344 (*de Halon.* § 23). Python was a Rhetorician of Byzantium. **πολλῷ ῥέοντι** '*multo fluenti.*' Compare *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*, Thucyd. 4, 22. Eur. *Hippol.* 443 *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητόν, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ.* Hor. *Od.* 4, 2, 7; *Sat.* 1, 7, 28.

137 **Ἀναξίνῳ** Anaxinus of Oreus was tortured and put to death as a spy, although he had only come to make purchases for Alexander's mother Olympias, in B.C. 341, Demosthenes himself presiding at the rack. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 224. **συνιὼν** 'having gone by appointment to meet.' See Aesch. *Ctes.* 223 sqq. **μόνος μόνῳ...ἐκοινολογεῖτο** 'had a *tête-à-tête* interview and conversation.' **ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει** 'was already by his original nature.'

138 **οὐ τίθεται...ὀργήν** 'but these facts are not stored up in your minds for clear recollection and proper indignation.' **ὑποσκελίζειν** 'to trip up, supplant.' He reproaches the Athenians with the same evil tendency, § 3 *τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως*. **τάξιν** *rôle*, cp. § 13.

139 **δὴ** marks the summing up and dismissal of a subject. **πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν** 'before we were actually at war with Philip,' i.e. before B.C. 341. **δότε** '*condonate*,' 'concede him this.' **τὰ πλοῖα** § 73. **Χερρόνησος**. See above, §§ 92, 93. **ἐνεστήκει** 'had begun.' See note on *ἐνστάς*, § 89. **ἰαμβειοφάγος** 'mouther of iambics,' referring as usual to Aeschines' theatrical profession (or perhaps = *φιλολοίδορος*). There is considerable variation in the MSS. and Editions as to this word; *ἰαμβειογράφος* 'writer of lampoons,' which seems most favoured by the MSS., *ἰαμβειομάχος*, and lastly *ἰαμβειορράφος* suggested by Sauppe. **οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον**, we use the positive degree in English, 'great or small.' **ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι** literally 'whilst my water-clock (or clepsydra) is going': hence 'in the time allotted for my speech.' See *Fals. Leg.* 64 (57), and *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. *δίκη*. **δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον** 'he must have recourse to one of two alternatives,' i.e. he is on the horns of a dilemma; he did not make any proposals against mine either because there was nothing to say against them, or because he suppressed the better course from a preference for the interests of the enemy. Accusative in apposition to the following sentence. Madvig, *Gr. Synt.* 19, 3.

140 **Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν...ἑτέρῳ** 'Pray did he consequently refrain from speaking (as he refrained from proposing anything) when the time came to work some mischief? Nay, we might rather say, no one else *could* speak because of him.' *ἆρ' οὖν*, *num igitur*, expects the answer 'no.' *μὲν οὖν* = *immo vero*, common in the dramatic writers. Cp. 130 *χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῴην*. **ἐπέθηκε τέλος** 'put the finishing stroke upon,' brought to a climax. **τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα** 'the decrees *concerning* the Amphissians.' Thucyd. 1, 140 *τὸ τῶν Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα*. **ὡς διαστρέψων** 'under the idea that he will distort.' **τὸ δ' οὐ...ἐρεῖς** 'whereas the fact is not as he thinks it will be: how should it? You will never succeed in washing yourself clean of what you there did: you will not say so much as to manage *that*.' **ἐκνίψῃ** 'wash out,' 'purge yourself of.' Cp. Eurip. *I. T.* 1232 *ὡς φόνῳ φόνον μυσαρὸν ἐκνίψω*. **τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ** 'what you did there.' Compare the sense of the Lat. *purgo* 'to excuse oneself.' For the dat. see § 4.

141 **πατρῷος** 'gentile god,' because he was the father of Ion. **πρὸς ἔχθραν** 'in a spirit of personal hostility.' **ἀνόνητον** 'deriving no benefit from,' the ordinary sense of the word is

'useless,' as in Soph. *Ajax* 758 *τὰ γὰρ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα* (where Wunder reads *κανόητα*). Cp. Eur. *Hec.* 766.

142 **τί...σφοδρῶς** 'why then have I invoked these curses on myself and spoken with such vehemence?' **διετεινάμην** 'I put myself at full stretch,' as in running, cp. *θεῖν διατειναμένους* Plat. *Rep.* 474 A. **μὴ...ἐλάττων** 'lest he should be considered as too poor a creature to have done the mischief that he *has* done.' He gives them a similar caution in *Fals. Leg.* 32 (29): *δεῖ δὲ μηδένα ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος ἀποβλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι.*

143 **τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον** B.C. 338; the Amphissians charged the Athenians with sacrilege in regard to the dedication of certain shields, the Athenians retaliated by a charge of sacrilege against them for having cultivated the land which had been the subject of the sacred war B.C. 358—346. **πόλεμον εἰσάγεις, πόλεμον** The word *πόλεμον*, being placed first in the sentence and repeated, expresses the anxiety uppermost in the speaker's mind. Compare Verg. *Aen.* 9, 427, where Nisus is rushing forward to save Euryalus, he exclaims *Me, me, adsum qui feci: in me convertite ferrum.* **οἱ ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι** 'his packed audience,' Lat. *fautores* or *advocati.* Cp. *Fals. Leg.* init., *αἱ τῶν παρακλήτων σπουδαὶ καὶ δεήσεις.* They were summoned by *παραγγελία* of the person who wanted their aid: they came altogether to the ecclesia early, and sat down in a body (*συγκαθήμενοι*). Dicaeopolis (Arist. *Acharn.* init.) says he comes prepared *βοᾶν, ὑποκρούειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας*, which will give us a notion of the proceedings of these *παράκλητοι*.

144 **καὶ τίνος...ἐπράχθη** 'for whose sake this affair was got up (properly, *packed* together), and how it was carried into execution.' **εὖ** belongs to **συντεθὲν** which is predicative, 'that it was well got up.' **τῶν κοινῶν** 'the affairs affecting all Greece.'

145 **τῶν λῃστῶν** 'the cruisers' who plundered the Macedonian coast.'

146 **μήτε Θετταλῶν...διιέντων** 'in case the Thessalians did not join him, and the Thebans refused him a passage through Boeotia.' **κρατοῦντι...στρατηγούς** 'though he was getting the better of the generals, such as they were (I won't enter into that!), which you sent against him.' **αὐτῇ...κακοπαθεῖν** 'he suffered from the actual geographical conditions in which he found himself and the several resources of the belligerents.' That is, Philip was in this difficulty: he could not get at Attica by land without persuading or conquering the Thessalians and Thebans, and he could not overpower the Athenians at sea in which they were still the stronger.

147 **οὐδέν' [ἄν] ἡγεῖτο...προσέξειν** The reading of certain MSS., among which is Σ, is *οὐδὲν ἄν*. But the use of *ἄν* with a future in Attic is exceedingly doubtful. It is admitted by Shilleto (*F. L.* § 394) as a possibility though of the rarest occurrence, but is entirely rejected by Madvig (*Gr. Synt.* 173 R. 2). In nearly all the cases quoted the change from optative or aorist indicative to future is very slight, and the variation in the MSS. goes to shew that it was always at least doubtful [see however Goodwin *M. and T.* § 197]. If *οὐδέν' ἄν* is retained—which may easily have come from *οὐδένα—προσέξειν* should be changed to *προσέχειν*. **τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι** 'for the Amphictyons,' i.e. to get the Amphictyons involved in a war. **περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν** 'and a disturbance at the Pylaea,' or Amphictyonic synod. *Πυλαία* is also used in Demosthenes for the right of sending delegates to the Amphictyonic council. It is derived from *Πύλαι*, because the session was held in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae, as also at Delphi. At Athens three Pylagorae were annually elected to act as representatives together with one Hieromnemon, appointed by lot. See *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. Amphictyons; and for an account of this war, Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. VI. c. XLVI.; Grote, c. XC.

148 **τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ...ἱερομνημόνων** 'any of the deputies representing him in the Amphictyonic council.' In B.C. 346, at the end of the Sacred War, the two votes formerly held by the Phocians had been given to the king of Macedonia. **ἱερομνήμονες** appears here to be used as equivalent to *πυλαγόραι*, though there are indications that they were a superior class in the council. See *Dict. of Antiq.* s.v. *Amphictyons*. **παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων** 'from you his declared opponents.'

149 **ἀνερρήθη** 'was proclaimed,' hence 'elected.' This verb (*ἀναρρέω*) is only used in the aor. 1 and fut. pass. Cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 147. **τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν** 'having got the prestige of the city at his back,' i.e. as representing Athens. **ἐπέραινεν** 'he set about accomplishing.' **λόγους... συνθεὶς** 'by stringing together specious words and myths about how it came to pass that the Cirrhaean territory was consecrated,' scil. to Apollo. This was in the *First* Sacred War, B.C. 595—586. **συνθεὶς**, cp. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 686; Ar. *Ran.* 1052. **ἡ Κιρραία χώρα** 'the district of Cirrha' had been left uncultivated and devoted to Apollo ever since the end of the first Sacred War, B.C. 585. Cirrha was the old port for Delphi, and the war against the Cirrhaeans had been promoted by the Amphictyons because of the heavy toll and other oppressions exercised by them on the worshippers and pilgrims to Delphi.

150 **περιελθεῖν...εἶναι** 'to take a survey of the land which the Amphissians declared they were in the habit of farming

because it was their own, but which Aeschines complained was part of the sacred territory.' Aesch. *in Ctes.* 107—112. **οὐδεμίαν δίκην** 'though the Locrians were bringing no suit against you.' Aeschines (*Ctes.* 116) asserted that he charged the Locrians with sacrilege in answer to their charge against the Athenians of dedicating the shields without due ceremonies. The Locrians appear to have made such a charge. Demosthenes denies that it was *formally* preferred. **ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι** 'without having *summoned* you.' **ἐκλήτευσεν** 'cited in presence of witnesses'; *κλήτορες*, see § 55. **ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς** 'dating from whose Archonship,' al. *ἐπὶ* 'in whose Archonship?' Westermann explains it to mean 'from what sources?' (aus welcher Veranlassung?) Weil reads *ἐπὶ* and translates 'Before what magistrate?'

151 **περιιόντων** 'going round' the territory for the purpose of surveying it, and destroying the buildings raised by the Amphissians on the sacred land. **μικροῦ** '*within* a little,' =*μικροῦ* or *ὀλίγου δεῖν* or *παρὰ μικρόν*. The word qualifies *κατηκόντισαν*, not *ἅπαντας*; there was no actual bloodshed. **καὶ συνήρπασαν** 'they actually did arrest.' **ὡς δ' ἅπαξ...ἐταράχθη** 'when once, in consequence of these events, definite charges and war were stirred up against the Amphissians': *ὡς ἅπαξ* = *postquam semel.* **Κόττυφος** a native of Pharsalus, and president of the Amphictyonic Council. **οὐδὲν ἐποίουν** 'were doing no *good*,' gaining no advantage. **ἦγον** i. e. *τὰ πράγματα* 'proposed to refer the matter.' **τὴν...Πυλαίαν** 'the next (or autumn) sitting.'

152 **εἰσφέρειν** 'to pay a war-tax,' which was assessed upon property (*οὐσία*). **ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ** 'bidding a long farewell to the Cirrhaeans,' i.e. having nothing more to do with them. Cp. *Mid.* 39. *Fals. Leg.* 278 (248) *ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ.* Cic. *ad Div.* 7, 33, 2 *Ego vero multam salutem et foro dico et curiae.* **τὴν Ἐλάτειαν.** Elateia was, next to Delphi, the most important town in Phocis, situated on a plain in the valley of the Cephisus, and commanding the pass of Mt Oeta.

153 **νῦν δὲ...ἐκεῖνοι** 'but as it was, they held him in check, at least so far as to prevent any sudden operations.' For **νῦν δὲ** cp. § 133. **τό γ' ἐξαίφνης** 'at least for the instant.' **εἶτα**=*μετὰ τοὺς θεούς*. *εἶτα* sometimes answers to *μάλιστα μὲν*, as *εἰ δὲ μὴ* does in clauses implying negation: it never has *δέ*. **ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα** 'as far as one man could,' *pro virili portione.* **ἡλίκα...μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ...ἔδωκεν** 'what vast trouble the abominable fellow stirred up without suffering for it.' For **πράγματα** 'trouble' cp. Herod. 6, 40; Thucyd. 8, 48; Arist. *Plut.* 652. **μιαρὰ** is a vulgar term of abuse, see Arist. *Ran.* 466, 571.

154 **τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων** This description of the Amphictyonic body answers very well to that of Aeschines, *Ctes.* 124, who describes the larger assembly thus: *ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσι ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ.* It thus followed the analogy of assemblies generally in Greece, consisting of a council or *βουλή* appointed by some special arrangement, and a general assembly of all concerned—in this case of all who were present for the purpose of joining in the religious rites or consulting the oracle. **στήλαις διαλαβεῖν** 'to mark out with boundary stones.' **τοῦ λοιποῦ** 'on any future occasion.' This phrase is always used in negative sentences, and contains the idea of 'iteration.' *τὸ λοιπόν* in affirmative propositions, with the idea of 'duration,' signifies '*during* all future time.'

155 **ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας.** The decree was really in the autumn session (*τῇ μετοπωρινῇ Πυλαίᾳ*, § 151) which finally constituted Philip Amphictyonic commander. **κατανειμάμενοι** 'having divided amongst themselves.'

156 **τοὺς...συμμάχους** Arcadians, Argives, Messenians and Eleans, the anti-Spartan confederation, for whose sake Polybius justifies this calling in of Philip [18, 14]. **πρόφασιν.** The twofold signification of this word is worth bearing in mind, and is well illustrated in this chapter. It first means 'the real reason' (*τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν*), we may say in a good sense, and immediately afterwards 'the false reasons' or pretexts, *τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ προφάσεις.* See Shilleto on Thuc. 1, 23, 7.

157 **τοῖς δημιουργοῖς** A common title in the Peloponnese for certain city magistrates. Thus Thucydides (5, 47) mentions them in connexion with Mantinea and Elis; and Polybius in his account of the Achaean League (23, 5). **πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς** 'offend against' [*πλὴν* a preposition indicating *excess* or *variation from a standard* rt. *πλε*. Cp. *πλε-ί-ων*], 'do wrong to.' **εὐσεβῶν** 'held sacred,' 'reverenced.' This passive sense of *εὐσεβής*, applied to a thing, is unusual. We have *εὐσεβὴς ψῆφος* above, but that means rather 'a religious vote,' a vote consistent with religion and the oaths taken. In Eur. *Elect.* 1272, we find *εὐσεβὲς χρηστήριον*, in the pass. sense. **ἐνεστῶτος**, as we say, 'on the first *instant*.' **λῴου** The Macedonian month Lous is believed to be identical with Hecatombaeon, not Boedromion; and the Boeotian and Corinthian Panemus with Metageitnion. On the supposition of the letter being spurious it is not easy to see why the forger should have introduced such a blunder. After all nothing more as to the

correspondence of these months can be established than that their *order* agreed. The Greek calendars were wrong, and were corrected by the various states in different ways; and some process of intercalation may have brought these dates together in this particular year. The words [**τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις**] are unintelligible as they stand, and it seems best to expunge them with Schaefer. The sense will then be, 'those who refuse to attend the rendezvous with all their available forces we shall treat as liable to the penalties of war,' i.e. *ὡς πολεμίοις*. This threat is of course levelled against the Thebans. J. H. Lipsius (ed. 1876) reads *τοῖς ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις*, making *ἐπιζημίοις* a substantive= 'with the penalties.'

158 **μὴ λέγετε περιιόντες** 'do not *go about* saying.' Cp. *Fals. Leg.* 209 (189) *ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδεῖ περιιών*: 1 *Philipp.* § 10. **ὑφ' ἑνός**, scil. Philip. **παρ' ἑκάστοις** 'in the several states.'

159 **οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι...εἰπεῖν** 'I should not hesitate to load with the accumulated guilt of all the subsequent ruin.' **κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν...ἁπάντων** 'guilty towards all,' 'the common plague of all.' This adjective is followed by the genitive of the person by injuring whom the guilt is incurred: as *θεοῦ ἀλιτήριος* Arist. *Equit.* 445; *Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε* Aeschin. *in Ctes.* § 131. **ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ...ἀληθείας** Dissen thinks these words were spoken aside, but Demosthenes was not over-scrupulous about taxing the Athenians with such carelessness: cp. § 133 *τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν*, cp. § 149. **ἀπεστράφητε** 'felt an instinctive abhorrence of,' or 'aversion to.' The construction of such verbs is *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, the physical notion of 'turning away from' is lost in the moral idea of 'to abhor.' **σκότος** generally neuter in Demosthenes.

160—252 Statement and justification of Demosthenes' own policy.

§§ 160—167 *I will now ask you to listen to the story of my policy. When Philip's progress was becoming formidable, it was I in conjunction with others like-minded who worked to keep on good terms with the Thebans, and who persuaded them to bar his advance* [B.C. 338].

[*The documents here quoted* (§§ 164—5), *whether later compositions or not, give a sufficiently clear account of what took place. First, the alarm excited at Athens by Philip's forward policy: then the attempt of Philip to alienate Thebes. Next, the first ἀπόκρισις refers to the Athenian counter-intrigue in Thebes against Philip, and the second to the decision of the Thebans to side with him rather than with Athens, which he*

assumes from the friendly tone of a despatch received from them, while he indicates that he is aware of the pressure being put upon them to take the other course.]

160 **τὰ ἔργα τῶν ... πόνων** 'the actual burden of the labours in your behalf,' as Thucyd. 1, 22 *τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων*. *τοὺς πόνους* would have been sufficient to express the sense, but *τὰ ἔργα* is put in to give a more pointed antithesis to *τοὺς λόγους*.

161 **παρ' ἑκατέροις** 'in each of the two states separately,' Athens and Thebes. **ἀμφοτέροις** 'to both in common.' **παρατηρῶν διετέλουν** 'I was still watching (as it were, keeping guard *by the side* of the events) as I had been all along.' See on § 57.

162 **'Αριστοφῶν**, see on § 75. Aeschines (*Ctes.* 139) says of him, *πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ Βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν*. This is Aristophon the Azenian, *civis nobilissimus*, who doubtless disagreed with Eubulus on many points (*ἀντιλέγοντας*), for the latter was a mere demagogue, as his law *περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν* proves: see on § 118. **ὦ κίναδος** 'fox,' as a term of reproach for low cunning, see Arist. *Nub.* 448. Soph. *Aj.* 103. **τῶν...δοκιμασάντων** 'who gave their approbation to.'

163 **τὸν...πόλεμον** B.C. 339, see § 143. **οὗπερ...συνέκρουον** 'the very object for which these men were trying to bring the cities into collision,' see on § 19. **καὶ εἰ μὴ...ἠδυνήθημεν** 'had we not arisen from our apathy a short time before, we should not have been able to recover ourselves.' **προεξανέστημεν μικρόν** = *ἐξανέστημεν μικρὸν πρὸ τούτου*, i.e. 'if we had not been a little beforehand with Philip.' **ἀναλαβεῖν** (*αὐτοὺς* Dissen reads), 'to recover one's strength after a shock.' **οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω** *usque adeo*, for *μέχρι οὕτω πόρρω*.

164 **πορθεῖ** *oppugnat*, Schaefer, who compares Diod. Sic. 14, 4 *πολιορκίαν ξυνεστήσαντο πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν*. **μάλιστα μὲν** 'if possible—first and foremost.' **εἰ δὲ μή** 'failing in that.' **τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι** 'to protract *the* armistice.' **τὰς** 'already existing.' **ἀνοχή** a *suspension* of hostilities. Attic form *ἀνακωχή*, or more correctly *ἀνοκωχή*, rt. οχ-, so *ἐπ-οχ-ή*, a halting-point in history.

165 **ἐνδεχομένως** 'as well as the circumstances admit of.' **καὶ γὰρ νῦν...μετρίων** 'for as matters now stand, it has decided not to march out to battle, in case of obtaining any tolerable terms' (from Philip). **βοηθεῖν**, as Thucyd. 1, 107 *ἐβοήθησαν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί*, in the simple sense of 'hastening to the fight,'—the primary meaning of the word.

166 **αἵρεσιν** here 'political feeling,' 'policy.' **ἐφ' ὑμῖν** 'at your dictation,' 'under your influence,' cp. Lys. 1 § 6 λίαν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ εἶναι: cp. § 215. **ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς** 'changing your tactics,' a military term, 'wheeling round.' **παραπέμψαντες** Hesych. ἀπωθοῦντες, *cum contemptu transmittentes.* Dissen.

167 **πᾶσαν προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν** 'affect to offer you their most zealous service.' **ῥοπὴν** = *momentum*, 'a thing which I expect will be of no slight moment or advantage to you.'

§§ 168—173 *An agreement between us and Thebes being thus delayed Philip surprised and alarmed us by suddenly seizing Elateia* (B.C. 338). *In the universal consternation I alone was found to come forward with the necessary advice.*

168 **ὡς οὐδ' ἂν...Θηβαίων** 'with the impression that it was impossible under any circumstances that we should still be found acting in concert with the Thebans.' **εἴ τι γένοιτο** answers nearly to the Lat. *si quid accidisset*, and implies, 'if aught untoward should have occurred,' comp. § 219, fin. συμπνευσόντων ἂν was rightly changed by Schaefer into συμπνευσάντων, against Bekker and Dindorf; for though the fut. partic. with ἂν is perhaps admissible (see on § 147), yet the future of πνέω is always πνεύσομαι, not πνεύσω. Notice the emphatic repetition of ἂν to express the greatest improbability.

169 This fine passage was highly admired by the ancients, see Longinus, ch. 10; see § 152. Elateia was distant 78 English miles from Attica. **κατείληπται**, the perfect, because the news is given as though in the messenger's own words, cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 669. 2. **μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες** 'before they had finished their evening meal,' which is a proof that the Prytanies remained the whole day in the prytaneum. **γέρρα**, booths of wicker-work, and therefore easily demolished. They were cleared away when the Agora was wanted for an assembly (see *in Neaer.* § 90): the burning of them was a sign of haste, and gave warning to all also that something had happened requiring an immediate assembly. See Schol. in Arist. *Ach.* 22. **στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο** sent for the 'strategi' that they might convene a σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία, which was done by sound of trumpet; hence τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν. **ὑμεῖς** 'you (citizens) were on your way to the assembly,' i.e. so early that the boule had not time to do the usual preliminary business. **καὶ πρὶν...ἄνω καθῆτο** 'and before it (the βουλή) had completed its business or prepared a measure for the assembly, the whole people was seated in the Pnyx.' **ἄνω**, cp. Plutarch, *Nic.* 7, and Dem. *in Aristog.* § 9 ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Usually the Ecclesia was slow in filling, Arist. *Ach.* 19—42, and business could not begin till the Prytanies entered. But when anything exciting was taking place, the people crowded in early. The Scholiast to Aeschin. *Timarch.*

81, says ἦν δὲ πάγος ὑψηλὸς, λόφος καλούμενος Πνύξ. The hill of the Pnyx is the central summit of three rising to the W. and S. of the Areopagus. On the N.E. slope of this hill are the remains of ancient structures the examination of which has led some modern archaeologists to the conclusion that this rather than another structure to the W., which used to be regarded as the bema, marks the celebrated place of assembly. But Miss Harrison *Mythology and Mon. of Athens*, p. 109 returns to the ancient view. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 34.

170 **τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;** This official summons was as it were the shibboleth of a perfect democracy. Aeschines gives it more fully, *Ctes.* 4, *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων*, but complains that the qualifying clause, giving the elders the first speech, had fallen out of use. See Arist. *Acharn.* 45. **τῶν ῥητόρων** The professional orators, who would be expected to speak on such an occasion. That certain orators were specially appointed to advise the people seems clear from the fact that Lycurgus states that they were subject to *δοκιμασία*, 'scrutiny before office' (Harpocration s. v. *δοκιμασία*) like the Archons and Strategi; and a special form of procedure existed against them for corruption or unconstitutional advice (Harpocr. s. v. *ῥητορικὴ γραφή*).

171 **εἰ...ἔδει** 'if it were intended,' scil. by the herald's summons. **ὑμεῖς** 'you, who are present here.' **οἱ τριακόσιοι**, the *ἡγεμόνες τῶν ξυμμοριῶν*, according to the division of Nausinicus, B.C. 377. *Dict. Ant.* s. v. *Trierarchia.*

172 **ἐκάλει** 'called for.' **παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν** 'who had watched the course of the events,' literally 'followed alongside of them.' See *παρατηρῶν διετέλουν*, § 161; *Fals. Leg.* 291 (257); *in Timocr.* § 16. **πόρρωθεν** 'for a long time past.' Brem. reads *ἐπιμελῶς* with Bekker and others after *πόρρωθεν*. **ἤμελλεν** 'was likely'; for the usual fut. infin. after *μέλλω* see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 420.

173 **ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐγώ** 'well then, such a one (sc. *ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει*) appeared in *me*'; *οὗτος* predicate, *ἐγώ* emphatic. **τὴν τάξιν** see §§ 2, 13, 138. **ἐξηταζόμην** 'I was found,' prop. after examination: cp. *ἐξήτασαι* § 197. **τὰ δέονθ'**, governed by *λέγων καὶ γράφων*. **πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ...ἐμπειρότεροι** 'you will be better prepared to understand the remaining circumstances of our entire policy.' **τῆς πάσης** yours and mine, cp. §§ 192, 206, 207, 208, 222, 229.

§§ 174—179 *Speech of Demosthenes on the news of the capture of Elateia. 'That the Thebans have not joined Philip is shewn by his not being already in Attica. He only wishes to frighten us. Let us therefore, forgetting all former grudges against Thebes, at once send out our men to Eleusis ready to*

start for Thebes, and shew that we are ready to support the patriotic party there; and meanwhile send ambassadors to assure them of the same. These measures will leave them no excuse at any rate for joining Philip in a fright.'

174 **ὡς ὑπαρχόντων...Φιλίππῳ** 'as if Philip already had the Thebans on his side.' **οὐκ ἂν...ὄντα** 'we should not now have been hearing of him as being in Elateia.'

175 **εὐτρέπισται** *sibi conciliavit*, Diss. **ἀνθεστηκότας... ἐναντιουμένους** 'who from the first withstood his projects, and are now his avowed enemies.' **πεῖσαι** 'win over,' often used in the orators to mean 'bribe.' Lysias 7 § 18, etc. **παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα** 'when he has stationed his troops close at hand.' Cp. § 87 *μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας.*

176 **προσδεξαμένων** 'those who are now in opposition to him having adopted his friendship.' **πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ...γένησθε** 'and if you devote yourselves to examining, not cavilling at what I say.' *γενέσθαι πρός τινι* 'to undertake a thing,' cp. Isocrat. 289 c *γενέσθαι πρὸς τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν πραγματείᾳ.*

177 **ἐπανεῖναι** 'to dismiss entirely.' **μεταθέσθαι** 'to change your thoughts': though some explain that *φόβον* is understood; and certainly there is very poor authority for the absolute use. The fact is that *μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι* form an hendiadys for *μεταθεμένους φοβεῖσθαι* 'that we should all transfer our alarms to the dangers of the Thebans.' **πολὺ ἐγγυτέρω** Elateia, however, was 43 miles distant from Thebes. **Ἐλευσῖνάδε** The force was sent to Eleusis because it was the starting place in Attica for the pass over Cithaeron, called Dryoscephalae, which led to Plataea and Thebes. See Herod. 9, 19. **ἐξ ἴσου** sc. *τοῖς Φιλιππίζουσι* 'may be on equal terms with the friends of Philip as regards freedom of speech concerning their rights.' **παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων** 'to speak boldly to Philip in defence of their just rights,' i.e. their freedom and independence. **ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ** 'should anyone attack them,' i.e. should Philip do so. The indefinite *τις* is often used in sentences which convey a veiled threat. Cp. Herod. 9, 17 *μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν.* ib. 7, 5 *καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 628 *ἀγορεύω τινὶ ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντα.* Soph. *Antig.* 751 *ἥδ' οὖν θανεῖται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινα.* ib. *Aj.* 1138 *τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοὔπος ἔρχεταί τινι.* It is worth quoting these, and many more might be adduced, to illustrate the peculiar *minatory* use of *τις*. The threat is all the more emphatic for being vague. [See also Herod. 9, 45; Aristoph. *Ran.* 664; Theocr. *Idyll.* 5, 120 where, though no threat is conveyed, a taunt is indicated equally personal.]

178 **καὶ ποιῆσαι...ἐξόδου** 'to give them full authority to decide, along with the Strategi, both as to the time for proceeding to Philip's head-quarters themselves, and as to when the expedition should leave Attica.' **χρήσασθαι** see on § 95. **μὴ δεῖσθαι...καιρός** 'to require nothing of the Thebans, for that would be shameful at the present crisis.' **ἵν'...καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα...πράξωμεν** 'in order that, if they accept the proposal and hearken to our advice, we may be in the position of having accomplished our object, and of having done so on a pretext creditable to the state,' i.e. the pretext of giving disinterested assistance to a Greek town in extreme danger. Others however take *προσχήματος* in the sense of 'creditable appearance,' 'honour.' For *πρόσχημα* in the first sense cp. *de Pace* § 6. **κατατυχεῖν** 'to be completely successful,' cp. *καταπραχθῆναι* § 86.

§§ 179—191 *Such was my speech: it was received with approbation and embodied in a decree* (§§ 181—187) *which was the chief means of averting the peril then threatening us. This decree you did not attack at the time; it is too late to do so now with decency. But even now, if you can point out its error in policy, I would acknowledge myself in the wrong.*

179 **ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια** 'this *or* to this effect was my speech.' Cp. § 104. **κατέβην** 'I came down from the bema.' **οὐκ εἶπον...ἔγραψα δέ** Translate this instance of the figure *climax* thus: 'I did not propose these measures, *and then* not draw up the formal resolution of them,' etc. Dissen gives many references to illustrate this figure. **ἁπλῶς**, cp. supr. 88.

180 **Βάτταλος** or *Βάταλος*. The origin and meaning of this nickname was obscure to the ancient writers. Plutarch (*Dem.* 4) says the name was given Demosthenes when young, by other boys, on account of his feeble physique. Aeschines evidently considered it equivalent to *μαλακός* 'effeminate.' *c. Timarch.* 131 *οὐ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τίτθης Βάταλος προσαγορεύεται ἐξ ἀνανδρίας τινὸς καὶ κιναιδίας ἐνεγκάμενος τοὔνομα.* As this passage seems to imply that Demosthenes himself asserted that the name had been given him by his nurse, Westermann conjectures that it means 'Stammerer,' being connected with *βάττος*, *βατταρίζω*. **Κρεσφόντην**, a Heraclid, king of Messenia, who was slain by Polyphontes. The principal character in this play was Merope, wife of Cresphontes, who at his death was compelled to marry the murderer. Aeschines could only have come forward as the shade of Cresphontes (as Polydorus in the Hecuba), for the plot turns upon events which happened after the murder. **Κρέοντα** In the *Antigone* of Sophocles. **Οἰνόμαον** A lost play of Sophocles. Oenomaus was king of Pisa, and father of Hippodamia. We may observe that Aeschines being *τριτα-*

γωνιστής had to take these heavy parts of the kings in all the plays. Cp. *Fals. Leg.* 275 (247) ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους εἰσιέναι 'it is a kind of privilege of tritagonistae to come on the stage as the kings.' **ἐπέτριψας** 'you spoilt, murdered,' cp. ἐλυμαίνου § 267; Arist. *Acharn.* 1022 (Δικαιοπ.) τί δ' ἔπαθες; (Γεωργ.) ἐπετρίβην (*interii*) ἀπολέσας τὼ βόε, and the common sense of ἐπιτριβείης '*pereas.*'

181 Aeschines (*Ctes.* 100) sneers at the length of a similar Ψήφισμα, calling it μακρότερον τῆς Ἰλιάδος. **περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης** i.e. the peace of B.C. 346.

182 **κατακόρως** (1) *ad satietatem*: (2) *ultra modum*, as here.

183 **ἰδίας** Schaefer is probably right in supposing this word to mean 'belonging to itself alone,' = ἑαυτοῦ. **ὑπελάμβανεν...πλημμελεῖσθαι** 'the Athenian people conceived that injuries done against itself individually were of no such vital consequence.'

184 **ναύαρχον** This word is twelve times used in Thucydides, always of a Spartan. It was in fact a Spartan title, the Athenian admirals being usually styled στρατηγοί. It has been explained here as meaning some officer inferior to the στρατηγός. But its use is certainly a point against the genuineness of the document, § 73. **ἐντὸς Πυλῶν** 'into the straits near Thermopylae.'

185 **ἀλλοφύλου** The Macedonians derived their origin from some Pelasgians and Illyrians who had formerly settled in Emathia. Their royal family claimed descent from Temenos of Argos, and its Hellenic blood had long ago been admitted at Olympia (Herod. 5, 22; 8, 137). Philip, therefore, was not strictly speaking ἀλλόφυλος, nor the Macedonians entirely βάρβαροι.

186 **Ἡρακλέους παῖδας**, expelled from the Peloponnese by Eurystheus. The appearance of this mythological claim in a serious document is not as unnatural as it would appear now. See Isocr. *Paneg.* § 65; *Panath.* § 194. **κατήγαγον** 'restored,' cp. § 71 and κατέρχομαι, κατιέναι.

188 **αὕτη...κατάστασις πρώτη** 'such was the commencement and first establishment of our friendly relations with Thebes.' **κατάστασις** is opposed to ταραχή, and indicates the quieting down of what before had been disturbed.

189 **ὁ σύμβουλος...ὁ συκοφάντης** The definite article marks the class of people. In English we usually omit it. 'Unlike as they are in every respect, it is in this above all that a statesman and a selfish intriguer differ.' **καὶ δίδωσιν...τῷ βουλομένῳ** 'and renders himself responsible to those who have been persuaded by his advice, to fortune, to occasional emergencies,

to anyone who chooses,' i.e. who chooses to impeach him for it. The phrase **τῷ βουλομένῳ** was well known in Attic procedure, and was of the essence of the Athenian legal ideas. To speak, to advise, to prosecute and denounce, were the duties and privileges of every citizen without distinction (*ὁ βουλόμενος*). **σιγήσας** The following may be taken as a rule: Verbs which have their 1st future in the middle form alone, as *σιγήσομαι*, *ἀκούσομαι*, etc., never have their aorist likewise middle, but active, as *ἀκούσομαι ἤκουσα*. But *deponent* verbs, as *δέομαι*, take the passive forms in both as *δεήσομαι*, *ἐδεήθην*. **δύσκολον**, a word more properly applied to character: we may translate it 'anything cross,' euphemism for 'disaster.' **βασκαίνειν** *τι* or *τινὰ* = to revile; *β. τινὶ* = 'to envy.'

190 **φροντίζοντος** = *φροντίδα ἔχοντος*, see § 292. **ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι** 'but I go so far beyond what I am bound to do in making concessions.' Cp. *Fals. Leg.* § 382 (332). **ὃ... πραχθὲν** 'which would have been of advantage if done then.' **μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον** 'never from that day to this.'

191 **ἐγγυᾶσθαι** 'to be answerable for,' 'to go bail for.' **ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε** sc. *ἔδειξας* 'but since you did not explain then, do so now.' **ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν** 'which I ought to have been ready with.' **πρᾶξις** 'negotiation.' **μᾶλλον** i.e. rather than the policy to which I did direct the city. **τουτουσί** the citizens, as represented by the audience.

§§ 192—195 *That in spite of all these precautions Philip conquered at Chaeroneia should be attributed to Providence not to me. But at least our union with Thebes secured that the battle should be fought three days march from the Attic frontier. How much worse would it have been had the battle been at our own gates, as it would otherwise have been!*

192 **συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ** 'requires that the public adviser should be at his post,' 'requires the active service of a counsellor.' **ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις...δηλοῖ** 'but his principles alone shew the disposition of the adviser.' **αὐτὴ** = *καθ' αὑτὴν* 'by itself,' without reference to results. **συμβούλου**, we may perhaps translate this 'statesman,' considering what the position and duties of a *σύμβουλος* were at Athens.

193 **ἐνεστησάμην** 'I set on foot,' as *ὁ ἐνστὰς τότε πόλεμος* in § 89. **πράγματα** 'foreign relations,' as in § 188. **τότ' ἤδη** *tum demum*, 'then, if you can.'

194 **σκηπτὸς** 'hurricane,' from *σκήπτω*, which properly means 'to lean or press hard upon.' So the word is frequently applied to lightning, from the idea of its dashing violently down, and some would translate here 'thunderbolt'; but 'storm' is a better metaphor for an invasion. *σκῆψις* 'a pretext,'

literally what one leans or depends on. **μείζων** 'too great for.' This sense of comparatives is commoner with *μείζων* and *ἐλάττων* than any other words. Cp. § 142. **ναύκληρον** 'a ship-owner,' who at that time generally commanded his own vessel. **κατασκευάσαντα** 'having furnished with rigging or tackle.' **χειμῶνι χρησάμενον** 'having met with a storm.' *χρήσασθαι* is used of almost all outside circumstances affecting a person; thus, *συμφορᾷ χρήσασθαι* 'to be disfranchised' (*Mid.* § 58), *ἀπλοίᾳ χρήσασθαι* Eur. *I. A.* 88. **πονησάντων...ὅλως** 'strained or utterly broken to pieces.' **ἀλλ' οὔτ'...πάντων** 'But I was not steering,' the shipowner will say. 'Neither was I general, nor could I control Fortune: she is mistress of all.'

195 **οὕτως...πρᾶξαι** 'that we should fare as we did,' i.e. be conquered as we were at Chaeroneia. **ὑπὲρ οὗ...φωνάς** 'to secure which he at that time used all his powers of persuasion.' **ἐκεῖνος** is Philip, as Kennedy rightly explains, not, as some editors, Aeschines. For **πάσας φωνάς** cp. Eurip. *Hec.* 337 *σπούδαζε πάσας ὥστ' ἀηδόνος στόμα φθογγὰς ἱεῖσα μὴ στερηθῆναι βίου.* Demosthenes is referring to the arts employed by Philip to detach the Thebans from Athens. **τριῶν ἡμερῶν.** Chaeroneia was about 700 stades (90 miles) from Athens; and therefore the calculation of 3 days from the frontier is a liberal one. The Spartans once marched from Sparta to Athens (about 1200 stades or 150 miles) in three days, but that was noted as extraordinarily rapid. [Herod. 6. 120.] **που τῆς χώρας** 'anywhere in our own territory.' A topographical genitive. Cp. *ubi gentium*, *ubinam locorum*. **νῦν μὲν...τότε δ'** 'as things actually happened'...'but in the other case,' cp. § 200. **στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι** 'to regain her footing, to meet in assembly, to recover breath.' **τότε δ'...κατηγορεῖς** 'under the other supposition—but it is not worth my while to mention a contingency which was never even realized, owing to the kindness of some divinity, and to the fact that the state had shielded herself by this alliance, which you impugn.' **ἅ**, nom. case to *ἔδωκε*. **πεῖραν** sc. *ἑαυτῶν* 'especially as they never came to the test of experience,' 'never showed us what they were like.' Cp. *in Timoc.* § 24 *οἱ νόμοι πολλάκις αὑτῶν πεῖραν δεδώκασιν ὅτι συμφέροντες ὑμῖν εἰσι.* **προβαλέσθαι** cp. § 97.

§§ 196—198 *If you, Aeschines, foresaw what was going to happen, why did you not speak? You were dumb then; now that misfortune has befallen the state you come forward to accuse me, just as our bitterest foes in other states are bringing to trial all their fellow citizens who were the friends of Athens.*

196 **περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν** 'those who are standing outside,' i.e. outside of the ring of people immediately engaged in the trial. See on § 1 and Aesch. *Ctes.* 56 *τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι*

δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι. **ἐξήρκει** 'had been sufficient.' The *ἄν* is omitted by an idiom like that by which the Latins used the imp. or plup. indic. for subjunctive. G. 222, note 1. **προλέγειν** 'to speak before' the event.

197 **εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ'** 'in regard to these particular transactions themselves.' **ὑπολογισάμενος** cp. § 100. **οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο** 'for, if you had, they would not have adopted the measures I advised.' **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν** 'in the circumstances which actually occurred.' *ἐπὶ* with such datives indicates the actual state of affairs, as in the common phrase *ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις* 'when all is over.' Thus here 'You have been shown by results (when what took place had taken place) to have done what the bitterest foe of the state does.' **οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ** 'the undeviating enemies.' The use of *καθάπαξ* (once for all) for 'out and out' seems peculiar to Demosthenes. Cp. *F. L.* § 118 *καθάπαξ πέπραχεν αὐτόν*, *in Arist.* § 30 *καθάπαξ ἄτιμος.* Cp. § 231.

198 **καίτοι...ἀπέκειτο** 'and yet a man for whom the disasters of Greece were accumulating only to be the source of reputation to himself,' understand *ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς* before *ἐνευδοκιμεῖν* 'were treasured up for him to get honour thereby.' Cp. *ἐνδυστυχῆσαι δεινὸν εὐφρόνης κνέφας* Eurip. *Phoeniss.* 734. **ὅτῳ** here and just below is equivalent to *quippe cui* with subjunctive. **ὅτῳ...ἐχθροῖς** 'a man whose interests are coincident with those of his country's enemies.' **ἀπόκειμαι**, a peculiar word expressing 'to be laid by or stored away in reserve.' Cp. *in Conon* 21 *τούτοις ἀπόκεισθαι προσήκει τὰς τοιαύτας καταφυγάς.* **ἐξ ὧν...πολιτεύῃ** 'from your private life and conduct, your political activity and abstention alike.' **πράττεται...Αἰσχίνης.** Dissen illustrates these rhetorical sentences from Cic. 2 *Philipp.* 22 *Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque eripuit vobis Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius.* **ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα** 'fractures and sprains.' Cp. 2 *Olynth.* 21, where we find the metaphor more fully carried out. **κινεῖται** 'begin to stir,' 'make themselves felt.'

§§ 199—205 *I would even venture to say that if the result had been clearly known beforehand, and if Aeschines had warned us of it, instead of being silent as he was, it would still have been a duty which we owed to Greece, to our own glorious past, and to the position of our state, to act as we did.*

199 **πολὺς ἔγκειται** 'since he lays great stress upon'; see on § 136. **τὴν ὑπερβολήν μου θαυμάσῃ** = *θαυμάσῃ ἐμὲ ὡς ὑπερβολὴν ποιούμενον* 'as going too far'; see on § 190. **βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς** 'keeping up a continual outcry.' **οὐδ' οὕτως ..ἦν** 'not even in that case ought the city to have abandoned this policy.'

200 **νῦν μέν γε** 'true, as matters turned out.' **ἀποτυχεῖν,** see on §§ 86 and 178. **τότε δ'** 'but on the other supposition,' cp. § 195. **ἀξιοῦσα...τούτου** 'if while claiming supremacy over the rest of Greece she had abandoned this position to Philip.' **τούτου** sc. *τοῦ προεστάναι.* **ἀκονιτί** 'without a struggle,' a word taken from the wrestlers in the Palaestra. **μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε,** sc. *εἴπω,* 'for far be it from me to say they would have regarded the state or even myself with abhorrence.'

201 **τίσι ὀφθαλμοῖς** 'with what face,' as *ὄμμασιν* is used *Oed. Tyr.* 1371, Aesch. *Ctes.* 121. **περιέστη,** see on § 80. **ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν** 'others, and not we.' **μηδεπώποτε**—not *οὐ* as the whole case is hypothetical.

202 **Περσῶν βασιλεύς** Xerxes, whose commander Mardonius sent Alexander the son of Amyntas, in the spring of B.C. 479, to make large offers to the Athenians if they would abandon the Hellenic cause; and afterwards another messenger Murychides to Salamis. 2 *Phil.* § 11; Herod. 8, 136—144; 9, 1—5.

203 **πάτρια, ἀνεκτά, ἔμφυτα** 'such as were traditional in their country, or tolerable to their feelings, or consonant with their nature.' On these words Dissen says, 'sic intelligo, ut putem tertio rediri ad primum': with this we may compare § 195 *στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι.* **ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου** 'from time immemorial,' 'throughout her whole history.' Join **κινδυνεύουσα διατετέλεκεν** 'has always faced, and continues to face, perpetual danger.'

204 **Κυρσίλον.** This story is related by Herodotus, 9, 5; but he calls the traitor Lycides, not Cyrsilus. Cic. (*de Offic.* 3, 11) follows Demosthenes in the name; *Athenienses quum statuerent ut urbe relicta naves conscenderent, Cyrsilum quendam suadentem ut in urbe manerent, Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus cooperuerunt.* The story in Herodotus also places the incident *after* the battle of Salamis; and the crime of Lycides, according to him, was not disobedience to Themistocles, but an attempt to persuade the people to accept the offers of Mardonius. It is possible that both stories are true, and that Cyrsilus is the man whose descendants were adjudged *ἄτιμοι,* as mentioned by Lycurgus *c. Leocr.* § 122.

205 **ἠξίουν...ἐξέσται.** The indicative in the latter clause is used, as often in *oratio obliqua* in Greek, from the dramatic instinct which led a narrator to employ the very words which the person referred to would have used in *oratio recta.* Goodw. *M. and T.* § 670. In Latin the subjunctive would necessarily have been employed, *nisi liceret.* **τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ αὐτόματον θάνατον** 'natural death'; cp. Herod. 2, 66 *ἐν ὀτέοισι δ'*

ἂν οἰκίοισιν αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρύας. Tacit. *Annal.* 6, 10 'fato *obire*,' 'by a natural death,' and Verg. *Aen.* 4, 696 *nec fato merita nec morte peribat.* **τῆς εἱρμαρμένης** 'of his destiny,' i.e. he will not die *ὑπὲρ μοίραν.* **τῇ πατρίδι** sc. *νομίζων γεγενῆσθαι.* **ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει** 'in a city that is enslaved,' *δουλευούσῃ* is in apposition to *τῇ πόλει*, not a mere attributive. Cp. Herod. 5, 29 *ἐν ἀνηστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ.* Madv. § 12 R.

§§ 206—210 *This noble course of action was the people's, not mine; and the memory of the glorious dead at Marathon, Salamis, and Artemisium justifies your action. In the same spirit, and feeling yourselves the representatives of all this fame, you ought to give your votes in this case.*

206 **ἐπιτιμήσειε** 'would rebuke me,' for presumption. **νῦν δ'** 'but as it is,' 'as I put the case.' **διακονίας** 'the agency,' the practical carrying out of your high principles (*φρονήματος*).

207 **πικρῶς ἔχειν** 'to be angry.' **γλίχεται** 'eagerly longs,' akin to *γλισχρός*, which signifies (1) 'sticking,' (2) 'greedy.' See Curtius *Gk. Etym.* No. 544. **ὡς οὐ...πολιτευσαμένου** 'on the ground that my politics were none of the best.' **τουδὶ** 'Ctesiphon here.' **ἀγνωμοσύνῃ** *iniquitate* 'disfavour.' Soph. *Oed. Col.* 86 *Φοίβῳ τε κἀμοὶ μὴ γένησθ' ἀγνώμονες.*

208 **μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι, κ.τ.λ.** This celebrated appeal to the spirits of those who had fallen in the cause of liberty, was admired unanimously by the ancient critics. See Longin. ch. 16; Quinctil. *Inst. Orat.* 11, 3, 168. **προκινδυνεύειν** is well explained by a line of Tyrtaeus, *διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένειν Νωλεμέως*, 'to fight in the van.' Thucyd. 1, 73 *φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ.*

209 **κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων** 'thou accursed quill-driver,' properly one who stoops over his writing, from *κύπτω.* **τρόπαια...ἔλεγες**, see Aesch. *Ctes.* § 181. **ὧν τίνος...οὑτοσί** The argument is, 'your allusions to the glory of our ancestors are irrelevant to the present trial: because nothing that *I* advised the state to do was out of keeping with what *they* did.' **τὸ τίνος...ἔδει** 'in whose spirit ought I to have mounted the bema?' **τὸ βῆμα** The block of stone from which the orators spoke in the Pnyx. Cp. Ar. *Pax* 680 *ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ 'ν τῇ πυκνί.* See § 169. **δικαίως...ἀπέθανον** 'had I done this, I should, I grant you, have deserved to be put to death.' **ἀποθανεῖν**, passive of *ἀποκτείνειν.*

210 **συμβόλαια** 'dealings,' all kinds of private contracts, cp. Lysias 5 § 1 *πολλῶν συμβολαίων ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γεγενημένων.* *Dict. Ant.* s.v. *συμβόλαιον.* **ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων** 'in

view of the laws which concern private matters, and of the facts.' Cp. § 233 note. **εἰς τὰ...ἀποβλέποντες** 'with a single view to the glorious history of your ancestors.' *ἀποβλέπειν* is to turn from everything else and fix the gaze on some particular object. Demosthenes wishes the jury in judging of such public matters as the present not to take into consideration formal illegality, such as might be alleged against Ctesiphon's decree, but to decide on the larger grounds of public advantage. **ἀξιώματα** may be translated 'dignity,' as Kennedy renders it, or 'glorious actions,'—the abstract put for the concrete, as *δόξαι* § 108, *εὐδοξίας* § 322. **βακτηρίᾳ καὶ συμβόλῳ.** On the *staff* which each dicast received (also called *ῥάβδος*) was painted the letter indicating the court in which he was to serve. The *σύμβολον*, or ticket, he delivered to the paymaster (*κωλαγρέτης*) after the sitting, and so received his fee of three obols. *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. *δικαστής* Schömann p. 162.

§§ 211—226 *To return to my story. We went to Thebes, we delivered our letter, and received a favourable answer. You kept your word by going out to support Thebes, and your men behaved excellently there. Philip showed his dismay by the urgency of his messages to the Peloponnese. My exertions in the cause, which embraced every department of the public service, were then rewarded by a crown, without a word of remonstrance from Aeschines, though the decrees thus honouring me were precisely similar to the present one of Ctesiphon.*

211 **ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν** the *γὰρ* introduces the reason for what is stated in the next sentence—'but since, when I had occasion to mention...I passed over certain points, I wish to recur,' etc. The *οὖν* is pleonastic. **τοῖς προγόνοις** dative of agent after perfect passive, see § 4. **ὁπόθεν** Demosthenes goes back to the story as he left it with the decree (§§ 181—187) naming ambassadors to Thebes in B.C. 338 on hearing that Philip had taken Elateia. **ἀφικόμεθ'** i.e. I and my fellow ambassadors.

212 **ὡς ἑτέρως** *secus* 'badly.' § 85. *ἕτερόν τι* is frequently used as a euphemism for *κακόν τι*, just as Livy has *secius* for *pejus*. Pindar has *δαίμων ἕτερος* 'a sinister divine influence.' Compare the sense of *ἄλλως* 'otherwise,' only used in a bad sense. See Lysias 12 § 48 *ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν.* The construction with *ὡς* may be regarded as elliptical; *θαυμαστὸν* or *δεινὸν ὡς ἑτέρως*. Or it may be looked upon as giving an intensive though indefinite force to adverbs and adjectives. See Clyde, *Gr. Syntax*, § 59, 1. Thus *ὡς ἀληθῶς* occurs in § 63, where the full construction would be *θαυμαστὸν γάρ, ὡς ἀληθῶς δεινὸν τοῦτο.* **συναίτιος** 'even partially responsible for,' opp. to *μόνος αἴτιος*. According to Aeschines I am not to have even a share of credit for the good, and all the blame for the bad.

213 **'Επιστολὴ** i.e. from the Athenians to the Thebans. **ἐποιήσαντο** sc. the Thebans. **προσῆγον** 'introduced them,' cp. § 28. **τάξιν** cp. §§ 2, 13, 138. **ἐκείνους** 'the Macedonian ambassadors.' **αὐτοὺς** the Thebans. **ὁποτέρως βούλονται** 'in whichever of the two ways they wished.' **διέντας αὐτοὺς** 'by giving them (the Macedonians) passage through their territory,' § 146. **εἰς ταὐτὰ...συντείνοντ'** 'but all tending to the same point,' i.e. 'to induce them to break off from us.'

214 **τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα** 'the details.' **ἀντὶ...βίου** notice the emphatic position of *τοῦ βίου* 'I would value as dearly as my whole life,—yes, as my life.' **μὴ παρεληλυθότων...νομίσητε** 'lest as the crisis has gone by, just as men (would do) if they thought that a deluge had swept over the events, you should deem the accounts of them an idle waste of words.' **ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ** elliptic. **μάταιον ὄχλον** 'useless annoyance.' *Fals. Leg.* § 27 (24) *οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες ὄχλος ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφαίνετο,* where Mr Shilleto translates *ὄχλος ἄλλως* 'mere *bother*,' and says, 'the proper sense of *ὄχλος*.' Cp. Eur. *Ion*, 635 *ὄχλον μέτριον* (*εἶχον*). Herod. 1, 86 *ὄχλον παρεχόντων*. The Latin comedians translated it literally by *turba* or *turbae*; Ter. *Haut.* 254, Plaut. *Bacch.* 357. **ὅ τι δ' οὖν** 'be that as it may, the course weurged,and the answer they gave' the result given briefly, in opposition to the details *τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα*.

215 **ἀπόκρισις Θηβαίων** The Thebans accept the proffered help of Athens. **μετεπέμποντο, κ.τ.λ.** Aeschines (*Ctes.* 140) gives the same account of the reception of the Athenians at Thebes, but says it was *πρὶν περὶ ξυμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην*. **τὰν μέσῳ** supplied by Aeschines, *Ctes.* 148, who says that Philip became anxious for peace after this coalition. **ἔξω...ὄντων** Reiske takes this as referring to the Theban soldiery 'being turned outside.' Dissen says it is, 'whereas *your* army was outside, they brought it in.' Reiske's interpretation is more probable, for if *τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἱππέων* had been meant for the Athenians, we should not have had *τὴν στρατιάν* afterwards. The meaning perhaps is that *though* the Theban troops were outside the walls, and the town therefore undefended inside, the Thebans had confidence enough in the Athenian troops to admit them within the walls. **καθ' ὑμῶν** 'in regard to you' Madv. § 70, more usually of blame 'against.' But cp. 2 *Philipp.* § 9 *ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 50 *οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι*. **ἐφ' ὑμῖν** 'in your power.' Cp. § 166.

216 **τὰς πρώτας.** This is the reading of the chief MSS. Some inferior MSS. and some editions have *μάχας*. The usual interpretation placed upon the passage may be expressed concisely in the words of Grote (*H. of G.* pt. II. c. XC.) 'War

'was now carried on, in Phocis and on the frontier of Boeotia, 'during the autumn and winter of B.C. 339—8. The Athenians 'and Thebans not only maintained their ground against 'Philip, but even gained some advantages over him; especially 'in two engagements,—called the battle of the river, and the 'winter battle,—of which Demosthenes finds room to boast, 'and which called forth manifestations of rejoicing and sacri-'fice, when made known at Athens.' Others however deny the existence of a winter campaign at all, and translate *τὴν χειμερινὴν* 'the battle in the storm,' referring to some battle fought in circumstances that would be familiar at the time to Demosthenes' hearers: and this interpretation is favoured by Thirlwall as, though not satisfactory, yet better than talking of a 'winter battle' as if it had been at a different time of year to the other. *χειμερίαν* however in this sense would be more natural than *χειμερινήν*. Westermann (ed. Rosenberg) explains *τὰς πρώτας* sc. *παρατάξεις* understood from *παραταξάμενοι* [comparing Lysias 16 § 15 *τῆς πρώτης τεταγμένος* sc. *τάξεως*], and says that the reference is not to battles, but to certain tactical manœuvres, marches out and reconnaisances in force, which prevented Philip's advance. This interpretation seems to harmonise with the sentence which follows; for if the Athenians had really won anything like two battles, some stronger praise would have been given. **ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ**, the river Cephisus. **τῷ κόσμῳ** 'your discipline.'

217 **δυσμεναίνων** poetic word (not elsewhere in prose) implying deep, sullen resentment: 'sulking.' Cp. Eur. *Med.* 874. It is the Homeric *μενεαίνω* (*μενεσ-αν-jω*) 'to be vehemently angry,' compounded with *δυσ-*. **εἰ μὲν...ὁρῶν** Demosthenes strives to put Aeschines in a dilemma,—either he rejoiced with the rest of the city or did not: in the first case he cannot now declare that the events were bad; in the second he deserves death for regretting what all the other citizens rejoiced at. **ἐξητάζετο** 'was found,' as above, § 173 *καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντα.*

218 **ἐν θυσίαις...ἐν τῷ νομίζειν** 'engaged in sacrifices,' 'possessed with the belief.' **περιειστήκει...ἐμοί** Observe how admirably the antithesis is kept up throughout the sentence: 'you began by thinking you would be in want of assistance in consequence of the doings of these men (Aeschines and his party); you ended (*περιειστήκει*) by yourselves assisting others in consequence of my advice, which you followed.' **οἵας...ἠφίει φωνὰς** cp. §§ 195, 222. **λέγε** addressed to the clerk. **ἵν' εἰδῆτε ...ἀπειργάσατο** 'that you may know what was achieved by my persistence, my journeyings between the two towns, and my numerous propositions which Aeschines was just now dis-

paraging.' **συνέχεια** is used by Plato in the sense of 'a continued series.' But for 'persistence' this is a solitary example.

219 **Καλλίστρατος** was the celebrated orator whose speech on the subject of Oropus first inflamed Demosthenes to the study of eloquence, B.C. 366. His countrymen never forgave Callistratus this speech, but put him to death 10 years after. **Aristophon**, see on §§ 75 and 162. **Cephalus** flourished at the time of the Thirty Tyrants, and helped to expel them, see § 251, and Aesch. *Ctes.* 194. **Thrasybulus**, who restored the Constitution B.C. 404 after expelling the Thirty Tyrants. **διὰ παντὸς** 'thoroughly,' 'without reserve.' **εἴ τι γένοιτ'** see on § 168. **ἀναφοράν**, see note on § 17, and compare Eur. *Or.* 76; 414 ἀλλ' *ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀναφορὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς*, see Paley's note. Cp. also Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* § 104.

220 **οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν...πόλιν** 'I was so thoroughly convinced that the danger which had overtaken the city was serious,' or, 'I was convinced that the danger was so serious.' It does not make much difference in which way we take it; but the order of the words seems rather in favour of the former. **ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι** 'it was a thing to be contented with,' 'one ought to think oneself well off if able to do,' see on § 112.

221 **τυχὸν ἀναισθητῶν** 'perhaps foolishly.' *ἀναισθητέω* is *ἅπ. λεγ.* in Demosthenes, and appears not to be found until late Greek. Blass reads *ἀναίσθητον*. **ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον** 'I kept putting myself in every post,' i.e. that from time to time fell vacant. The iterative use of the imperfect. **ἐπιστολὰς** mentioned above, § 218.

222 **ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους** 'though using many brave words.' Schaefer remarks 'Talibus in locutionibus usus medii sollennis est, ut non mirer Elmsleium hoc Demosthenis loco usum in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 635 *στάσιν γλώσσης ἐπήρασθ'* praetulisse vulgatae *ἐπήρατ'*.' Cp. *Fals. Leg.* 167 (153) *ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχεν ὑμῖν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν*. **γραψάμενος** sc. *παρανόμων*. **τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων** a fifth of the votes, which if an accuser in a public suit (*γραφή*) failed to secure he was ipso facto fined 1000 drachmae (about £40), § 190. **ἀποπεφευγότα** 'that were acquitted' on the charge brought by Diondas.

223 **τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν** = *fuit subscriptor*. Cic. *in Caecil.* 15. **μᾶλλον εἰκότως** 'more reasonably,' not as Schaefer says, 'with greater probability of success.'

224 **τῷδε** sc. Ctesiphon. **ἀνενεγκεῖν** 'to refer to them as precedents.' Cp. *ἀναφορά*, § 219. **τοὺς νόμους** cp. Dem. c. *Lept.* 147 *οἱ νόμοι δ' οὐκ ἐῶσι δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* **τότε δ'...προλαβεῖν** 'but at that time the question would have been decided on its own merits, before

it acquired any of these precedents.' Schaefer seems wrong in wishing to read *προσλαβεῖν*.

225 **μετενεγκόντα...λέγειν** 'by having shifted the dates, and substituted false motives for the true ones in all that was done, to get the credit of saying something to the purpose.' *λέγεις τι* 'there is something in what you say,' opp. to *οὐδὲν λέγεις*. Eur. *Elect.* 939 *εὔχεις τις εἶναι.* Soph. *O. T.* 1475. Compare the common use of *aliquis* in Latin '*Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum Si vis esse* aliquid,' Juvenal, 1, 73. Plat. *Prot.* 339 B *ἐφοβούμην μή τι λέγοι.*

226 **ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας,** see on § 22 and § 233 note. **τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ...ἐλέγχους**, see on § 13. **ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα.** Thucyd. 3, 67 *οὐ λόγων ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων.* **τῶν πεπολιτευμένων** 'of actual measures.'

§§ 227—231 *And the proof of the excellence of my policy was furnished by the facts that the war was kept at a distance from the Attic territory: that Philip was kept out of Euboea; that the Byzantines joined us; and that Philip displayed none of that cruelty towards us which he shewed to others.*

227 **σοφίζεται** 'he is didactic,' 'he plays the sophist,' see Aesch. *in Ctes.* 59, 60. **ὥσπερ...συγχωρεῖτε** 'as when in money matters you reckon up accounts with the idea that there is a balance in some one's favour: if the figures correct that idea, and there is no balance, you are satisfied.' **καθαιρῶσιν** sc. *τὴν δόξαν* 'convict' or 'disappoint the opinion,' 'prove it wrong.' This seems to me the only sense to give this word if it is to stand [and it is the reading of Σ]. Some translate 'if they prove this point.' But the very hypothesis is that the *ψῆφοι* prove the contrary of the opinion entertained before. His argument is—with whatever prepossessions you sit down to accounts, you give in to the logic of figures. Cp. the words of Aeschines *ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἱρῇ.* In this explanation *καθαιρῶσι* would answer to Aeschines' *αἱρῇ* 'prove,' but in an adverse sense. For *καθαιρεῖν* 'to convict' cp. Lys. 133, 13 *ἡ καθαιροῦσα ψῆφος* and several instances quoted in L. and Sc., in which the force of *καθαιρεῖν* seems to have been gradually weakened from the meaning of 'to condemn' to that of 'to decide.' Other MSS. read *καθαραὶ ὦσιν* 'if the figures come out clear.' **ψῆφοι** properly 'pebbles,' which were used for counters, § 229. **προσθέσθαι** 'give in your adhesion to.' **σαθρόν** 'unsound' opp. to *ὑγιὲς* [it has been suggested that it is connected with *σήθω* 'to sift' as *σαπρὸς* with *σήπω*; it would then mean 'full of holes,' or 'weak places'].

228 **σοφοῦ** alluding to the *σοφίζειν* of § 227. **ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους** 'that there is a settled opinion about us.' *ἡμᾶς* is the reading of one MS. Σ, *ὑμᾶς* of the rest. With the latter reading translate, 'that you have already made your decision in our case.' Bekker first proposed to read *ἡμᾶς* for *ὑμᾶς*, and translates it 'nos esse cognitos = de nobis constare,' thus avoiding the necessity of taking *ἐγνωσμένους* in an active sense. **οὐ γάρ...ἐζήτει** 'for, if such had not been your opinion, he would not be trying to make you alter it.'

229 **τιθεὶς ψήφους** 'entering upon an arithmetical calculation,' lit. 'placing reckoning pebbles' on the abacus. So *ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν* 'to count accurately,' Aeschyl. *Agam.* 553, opposed to *φαύλως* 'roughly,' and *ἀπὸ χειρὸς* 'off hand,' 'on one's fingers,' in Arist. *Vesp.* 656. **οὐ...λογισμός** 'for that method of calculation does not suit practical politics,' or, 'that is not the way to look upon a statesman's achievements.' **λογισταῖς** 'auditors.'

230 **φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν** the common expression for plundering a country—'to carry off goods and drive off cattle,' cp. Lat. *ferre agere.* **ἐκ θαλάττης** 'on the side of the sea,' cp. § 301. **λαβόντα Βυζάντιον** 'by having occupied Byzantium,' which would have given him the key of the Hellespont, see § 93.

231 **ἀντανελεῖν** 'to cancel,' properly to take away equal parts from both sides, as in an equation or in balancing accounts. **ἀλλ' οὐχ...σκέψασθαι** sc. *δεῖν* 'and ought we not rather to see how they may be kept in everlasting remembrance.' **καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι** 'and I will not *now* proceed to add.' *προστίθημι* still keeps up the arithmetical metaphor commenced in § 227, 'to add as an item to the account.' **καθάπαξ** cp. § 197. **ἣν... ἐπλάττετο** 'which he used to feign while compassing the rest of his objects.' **περιβαλλόμενος** 'securing,' lit. 'investing himself with,' cp. Herod. 6, 24 *πόλιν περιεβεβλέατο*: 8, 8 *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο.* **καλῶς ποιοῦντες** expresses the opinion of the speaker, 'happily' or 'and I am sure I am glad of it.' Cp. *Leptin.* § 110. Aesch. *Ctes.* 232 *καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἐστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες.*

§§ 232—233 *The personal attacks upon my appearance and gestures show the malignity of Aeschines. A true patriot would not have wasted words on such trifles, but would have striven to show that my policy had been detrimental. That was the real point at issue.*

232 **παραδείγματα ..μιμούμενος** 'forging specimens, and mimicking my phraseology and attitudes.' Aesch. *Ctes.* 166. **σχήματα** 'action' or 'gestures.' Aeschines had attacked Demosthenes for his oratorical gestures before, see *de F. Leg.* 281—3. It was thought undignified at one time for an orator

to use violent action, to throw open his *ἱμάτιον*, or beat his breast; Plutarch (*Nic.* 8) says that such extravagances were first introduced by Cleon. **πάνυ γὰρ...παρήνεγκα.** Cic. *Orat.* 8, speaks of the *εἰρωνεία* of this passage: *itaque se purgans jocatur Demosthenes; negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hocine an illo verbo usus sit, hucine an illuc manum porrexerit.* **παρὰ τοῦτο** 'by this,' like the vulgar expression 'all along of this.' It is of course sarcastic here.

233 **ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων** 'by the test of my actions alone.' *ἐπὶ* c. gen. of the basis upon which an opinion is to be formed, cp. supr. 22, 210, 226. **ὅτ' εἰς...εἰσῄειν** 'when I first entered upon public life.' See on § 18.

§§ 234—237 *I will discuss the point which he omitted. The resources of Athens were very slender; only some of the weakest of the islands were on our side; the revenue was small; the military forces wholly native; and, worse than all, Aeschines and his party had roused enmities against us in Greece. Philip, on the other hand, had absolute power, abundant money, and was responsible to no one. Still, in spite of these disadvantages, I secured you the alliance of the most powerful states in Greece.*

234 **Χίος** Chios, Rhodes, and Corcyra had powerful navies. **χρημάτων σύνταξιν** 'contribution,' a term substituted in forming the new confederacy of B.C. 378, for the old *φόρος* of the confederacy of Delos, which had become offensive to the subject allies. See Grote ch. 77, Hicks' *Greek Inscriptions* p. 141. Chios and Rhodes had been among the members of this new confederacy, but had broken away from it in B.C. 358, and were united to Caria at the peace of B.C. 346. Corcyra had been reduced by Timotheus in B.C. 375, and enrolled in the confederacy. Hicks, p. 148—150. There does not appear to be any record of the circumstances in which it broke off from the League. **εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα** 'only amounted to forty-five talents, and these were anticipated.' The old *φόρος* under the confederacy of Delos had at its highest point amounted to 1200 talents. The new *σύνταξις* had been levied only in 70 confederate states [Diodor. Sic. 15, 30], and that number had been since decreased by various desertions, and probably never much exceeded 70 talents; see Boeckh, *Econ.* p. 423. In 4 *Phil.* §§ 37—8 Demosthenes reckons the whole revenue of the state as at one time as low as 150 talents, though raised afterwards to 400. (In about B.C. 423—420 it had been about 2000. Arist. *Vesp.* 660.) **προεξειλεγμένα** 'previously collected,' so that whatever I could levy must be by extraordinary contribution. **παρεσκευάκεισαν... ἐγγυτέρω** 'these traitors had so tampered with the surrounding states, as to make them more inclined to hostility than friend-

ship.' The termination *-εισαν* of the 3rd pl. plusq. perf., instead of *-εσαν*, is of very rare occurrence in Attic.

235 **παρὰ ταῦτ'** 'besides this.' **τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον** 'the requirements for successful war.' **τὰ ὅπλα...ἀεί** i.e. both in the summer and winter seasons. Cp. 3 *Philipp.* § 50 *καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, κ.τ.λ.* **βουλευόμενος**. after this word *οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος* is generally read.

236 **τίνος—οὐδενός** neut. **καὶ ὅσα...βεβουλευμένοι** 'and as often as they got the better of me in debate,—and the instances of this were numerous on one pretext or another,—you adopted resolutions in favour of my opponents and so broke up.' The emphatic word is the participle *βεβουλευμένοι*, not the verb *ἀπῆτε*. Madv. § 176 b. **δι' ἥν...πρόφασιν** 'through whatever plausible arguments they used in each case.' **ἕκαστον** nom. to *τύχοι*, subaud. *γιγνόμενον*.

237 **ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων** 'starting with these disadvantages.' Cp. *ἐλαττοῦμαι*, § 3. **ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων** 'besides the free citizens who served,' not Athenians, but of the allies. Aeschines (*Ctes.* §§ 97, 146) says the number of mercenaries employed was 10,000. But he does not reckon those sent by the Thebans, with whom alliance was concluded after the events he is mentioning. These allies did not all fight at Chaeroneia. **ὅσων ἠδυνήθην** 'from as many states as I could,' scil. from all those who did not send troops.

§§ 238—239 *Nor is it to the point to allege that we did too much in proportion as compared with the others. Our state always did take the lead in that way: and if you thought it wrong, why did you not speak at the time?*

238 **περὶ τῶν ἴσων** 'about equality of contribution,' i.e. that Athens ought to contribute to the war exactly as much as the other states, and no more. See Aesch. *in Ctes.* 143 *τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκε, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις.* **καὶ πρότερον** sc. in the Persian war of B.C. 480. Herodotus reckons the number of Greek ships at Salamis as 378 triremes, of which 180 were Athenian. The numbers are differently stated by others. The Athenian envoy in Thucyd. 1, 74 says 400, of which nearly two-thirds were Athenian: Aeschylus (*Persae* 340) says that there were in all 310. Both the envoy in Thucydides and Demosthenes are speaking in round numbers. **ἐκείνων** 'those famous ships.' **εἰ** 'if as was the case,'='that.'

239 **τουτοισὶ** i.e. the Athenians §§ 124, 131, 191. **παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς.** Schaefer says *παρά* = *διά* here. But it is better to take it as above, § 13 *παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα*, 'if it was

possible to do so at the time when the emergencies were before us.' **ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα** definite things, therefore the indicative is used; **δοίη**, indefinite things, therefore the optative. **ὁ ἀντωνούμενος** 'he that was bidding against us.' **προσθήσων** 'to give money as well' as protection, cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 628 *προσθεὶς γὰρ ὁ σπείρας τε κἀκθρέψας πατὴρ φέρνας ἀπῴκισ' ὡς ἀπαλλαχθῇ κακοῦ.*

§§ 240—243 *If what happened is to be made a subject of accusation against me,—what would he have said if Philip had also gained Euboea, Thebes and Byzantium? Aeschines in these accusations is like a bad physician prescribing after his patient's death.*

240 **καὶ...κατέστη** 'and he (Philip) became.' For the change of subject in two coordinate clauses, see Madv. § 6 a R.

241 **τοῦ μὲν...γέγονεν.** All this is supposed to be spoken by the adversary in the *directa oratio.* **τῆς σιτοπομπίας** see on § 87. **ἄπλους** 'impracticable for navigation,' 'unsafe.' **λῃστῶν** 'privateers,' acting for Philip.

242 **πονηρόν.** This use of the neuter is peculiarly emphatic. Dissen remarks on this passage: "ut hic contemptus significatur, sic in illo notissimo 'triste lupus stabulis' terroris notio augetur neutro." Cp. Plat. *Theaet.* p. 195 B. **τοῦτο δὲ... παράσημος ῥήτωρ** 'but this creature is a fox by his very nature; since from the first he has never done a single honest or liberal action—a veritable tragic ape—an Oenomaus for rustic audiences—a counterfeit orator.' **κίναδος** § 162, 127 (rt. *κναδ*, the *biting* animal). Akin to it are *κνώδαλον* and *κνίζω*. **ὑγιὲς** 'honest' opp. to *σαθρὸν* § 227. **αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος** 'a real tragedy-ape.' The compound *αὐτοτραγικὸς* is on the analogy of the *αὐτοάνθρωπος* and the like of the philosophers; and *πίθηκος* was a common term of ridicule on actors. See Aristot. *Rhet.* 3, 11 *εἰκάζουσι δὲ οὕτως, οἷον πιθήκῳ αὐλητήν κ.τ.λ.* *Poet.* 26 *πίθηκον ὁ Μυνίσκος τὸν Καλλιππίδην ἐκάλει.* **ἀρουραῖος** not 'a clownish,' or 'bad actor,' but 'acting in the country,' at the rural Dionysia; wherefore in § 180 we are expressly told that Aeschines took the part of Oenomaus *ἐν Κολλύτῳ* (one of the Attic demes). **παράσημος** metaph. *ἀπὸ κόμματος*, 'base-coined.' Cp. Arist. *Acharn.* 517 *ἀνδράρια μοχθηρά, παρακεκομμένα, ἄτιμα, καὶ παράσημα*, and *Ranae* 721 ff.

243 **ἰατρὸς** Aeschines anticipates this argument, *Ctes.* 225. **ἀσθενοῦσι τοῖς κάμνουσιν** 'to his patients when lying ill.' **ἀσθενέω**=Lat. *cubo.* **ἀποφεύξονται** The tense denotes the likelihood of escape, Goodw. *M. and T.* p. 163, 'by the use of what remedies they would *in all probability* escape.' **τὰ νομιζόμενα φέροιτο** 'the usual funeral ceremonies were being performed.' Lysias 32 § 8 *ἐδήλωσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν τὰ νομιζό-*

μενα. **διεξίοι** 'should go through the technical details,' i.e. should enumerate all the possible remedies in detail. **τὸ καὶ τὸ** = 'this or that,' see § 180. **ἐμβρόντητε...λέγεις;** 'lunatic, do you wait till now to speak?'

§§ 244—247 *Whenever I went as ambassador I got the better of the ambassadors sent by Philip; though I acknowledge that he proved the stronger in arms. But for this I am not responsible: whatever it was in the power of a statesman to do, that I accomplished: and at any rate I conquered Philip in one way, in which many were conquered by him,—I was incorruptible.*

244 **γαυριᾷς** 'exult,' *γαῦρος* is akin to *γαίω*, *γήθω*, perhaps to *ἀγαυός*, *ἄγαμαι*. Curt. No. 22. **ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ** 'from nothing which can be laid to me.' **ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον** § 124. **οὐ παρὰ...Βυζαντίου**, Arn. Schaefer places these two embassies in the year 341, immediately after the delivery of the third Philippic. **Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεῖς** were Teres and Cersobleptes. Aeschines mentions this embassy, *Ctes.* § 256.

245 **ταῦτ'...ἀπαιτεῖς** 'are these then the events of which you demand an account from me?' **εἰς μαλακίαν** 'on the ground of cowardice': referring to his general charges of cowardice as well as the supposed lack of courage at Chaeroneia. Aeschines *Ctes.* § 148 *ῥήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν*. *Ib.* 152, 155, 175. **ψυχῆς** 'courage.' **τῶν παραταξαμένων** cp. § 287. **σκαιὸς** see § 120.

246 **οὐ παραιτοῦμαι** 'I do not beg off,' 'ask to be excused'—*non deprecor*. **πολιτικὰ** = *οἰκεῖα* 'inherent in,' 'natural to,' we may say, 'constitutional defects.' **εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι** 'to contract (prop. furl) into the smallest possible range.' **ὁρμὴν** 'impulse.'

247 **κατέπραξε**, see on § 86 and 178. **διαφθείρειν** 'to corrupt' i.e. with bribes. **καὶ μὴν...Φιλίππου** 'Nay more: in the question as to whether or no I was corrupted by bribes, I have got the better of Philip: for just as the bidder has obtained an advantage over the receiver, if he succeeds in purchasing his services, so also he who refuses to be corrupted has obtained an advantage over the bidder.' Blass *τοῦ γε* al. *τό*. **πρίηται**, aorist subj. *si emerit*. **ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς** 'he who has refused a bribe and resisted corruption,' *μή* belongs to both participles. Others *ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρείς*. Cp. § 193.

§§ 248—250 *The people shewed their confidence in my patriotic wisdom, in spite of the defeat at Chaeroneia by passing all the decrees which I proposed for the public safety: and in acquitting me on all the charges brought against me by my enemies. Ctesiphon is therefore justified in proposing to honour me for achievements thus approved by the people.*

248 **γράφειν** 'to propose a decree.' **τοῦτον** Ctesiphon. **ἡνίκ'...ἐμέ** 'when it was by no means a matter for surprise that the majority should feel harshly disposed towards me.' Cp. 207. **εἰς τὰ τείχη** 'for the restoration of the walls.' It was on this occasion that Demosthenes gave three talents out of his private fortune. **σιτώνην** 'a commissioner of corn,' an extraordinary officer appointed on special occasions besides the regular *σιτοφύλακες*, in this case in preparation for a siege.

249 **εὐθύνας** 'suits on audit.' *εὔθυναι* stands both for the audit of the out-going magistrate itself, and for the suits brought against him in respect of such audit. Cp. Andoc. 10, 15 *εὐθύνας ὀφλεῖν*. **ἐκρινόμην** 'I was continually being prosecuted.' **ἀπόνοια** 'recklessness,' *dementia*: so *ἀπονενοημένος* = *demens*. *F. L.* 77 (69). Diondas is mentioned in § 222, as having unsuccessfully opposed Hyperides' decree to crown Demosthenes. Nothing is known of Sosicles and Melanthus. Philocrates of the deme Eleusis must not be confounded with Philocrates the Agnusian, who had been condemned to death, and was now living in exile, see § 17. **τοῦτο γὰρ...δικαστῶν** 'for this verdict is both true, and such as becomes sworn judges who made their decision consistently with the oath they had taken.' For the difference between *εὔορκος* and *ἔνορκος*, see Buttmann's Index *in Midiam*. **ὑπὲρ** 'is the part of'—an unusual use of the preposition. **εὔορκον** 'that which we do in conscientious observance of an oath.' **ἔνορκον**, simply 'that to which we are bound by an oath.'

250 **ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθε** 'by your acquittals of me,' opp. to *κατεψηφίζεσθε*. **τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων** see § 222. **τὰς γραφὰς** 'the indictments against me,' principally *γρ. παρανόμων*. **ἐπεσημαίνεσθε** 'you affixed your seal to my audit-accounts,' i.e. in the person of the *λογισταί*, the commissioners for holding the audits (*εὔθυναι*). **προσωμολογεῖτε** 'ye acknowledged in addition.' **τί...ὄνομα** 'what epithet could Ctesiphon with justice apply to my acts?'

§ 251 *No doubt it is a good thing never to be prosecuted: but that does not detract from the honour of one who has been so often and so triumphantly acquitted. Indeed, as far as Aeschines is concerned, I have never yet been prosecuted.*

251 **Ναί, φησίν...φεύγειν** 'Nay, he answers, but the boast of Cephalus was a glorious one, that he had never been defendant in a single indictment.' For the quasi-negative sense of *ναί* (=English 'nay'), see Mr Shilleto's Appendix to his edition of the *Fals. Legat.* **Cephalus**, see § 219, and Aesch. *in Ctes.* 194. **νὴ Δί'** is not ironical here. **πρός γε τοῦτον** 'at any rate as far as Aeschines is concerned.' **ἐγράψατο...**

ἐδίωξε 'he never to this day commenced or carried on a suit against me.' The first verb refers to the formal laying of the indictment, the second to the carrying it through. Note the second accusative *με*. *ἐγράψατο* with its cognate *γραφήν* forms the predicate.

252—276 Comparison of the fortune which had attended Aeschines and Demosthenes.

§§ 252—256 *Fortune is so fickle, that it becomes no one to boast of his own, or to reproach another with his. For instance, the Greeks who helped to secure theirs by betraying us are now in much worse case than we are: while our misfortunes are only our natural share of the universal disaster. My own fortune is unimportant, but as Aeschines has attacked me on that point, I will contrast it with his.*

252 **διελέχθη** see Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 157. **προφέρει** here =*ἀναφέρει*, *exprobat*, 'reproaches with.' Cp. Hom. *Iliad* 2, 251; 3, 64; *in Mid.* § 190. **χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ** the present tense implying that Aeschines *always* did so. **ἀνθρωπινώτερον** 'more as becomes frail humanity,' 'more humbly.'

253 **ἐγὼ...ἡγοῦμαι** 'I regard the future of the state as good.' **τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον** 'the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.' The reference is to some responses given at Dodona and Delphi declaring Athens to be 'lucky,' and therefore likely to survive mistakes and disasters. The same favour of heaven for the city is claimed in *F. L.* § 286—290, to prove which he had quoted the lines of Solon, beginning

> *ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται*
> *αἶσαν, καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων.*

The Romans had a similar belief in the *felicitas* of Rome; and Aristophanes seems to refer to this Athenian notion in *Nub.* 587

> *φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν*
> *τῇδε τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι, ταῦτα μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς*
> *ἅττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτητ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν.*

254 **τὸ μὲν...τίθημι** 'now the fact that we chose the most honourable policy, and the fact that we are now in a more prosperous position than those very Greeks who thought that, if they betrayed us, they would live in flourishing circumstances, I put down as part of the good fortune of our city.' He alludes especially to the states in the Peloponnese, most of which stood aloof from the struggle at Chaeroneia. **προσκροῦσαι** lit. 'to knock up against,' 'to come violently into contact with,' here it is absolute 'to meet with disaster.' In 1 *Philipp.* § 25 *τὸ προσκρούειν* is similarly used meaning 'to quarrel.' **τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης** 'of the fortune of

the rest of the world.' τὸ ἐπιβάλλον...μέρος 'the part which falls to our share,' cp. § 272.

255 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις 'in his personal affairs,' such as affect him individually. Aeschines had said (*in Ctes.* § 73) that the ill-luck of Demosthenes had brought a curse on the state. Demosthenes replies that his personal fortune could only affect his personal interests: Aeschines' allegation amounts to saying that the less contains the greater, which is absurd. The fortune of the state includes that of individuals, not that of individuals the fortune of the state. ἀξιῶ 'I hold.' κυριωτέραν 'more important,' 'of more decisive influence.'

256 πάντως 'at all events,' 'in any case.' ψυχρότητα 'of bad taste,' of selecting a topic which is *ψυχρόν*, unacceptable to the audience, or of which it has heard enough. Cp. *F. L.* 207 (187) *τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ὄνομα, τὸ ἄχρι κόρου*: *in Mid.* 112 *ἕωλα καὶ ψυχρά*. Quintilian, 2, 4, 29 (quoted by Cope, Introd. Ar. *Rhet.* 3, 3, 7) *fastidium movere velut frigidi et repositi cibi*. It includes the ideas of egotism, lack of novelty and ineffectiveness. Cp. Arist. *Thesm.* 170 *ὁ δ' αὖ Θέογνις ψυχρὸς ὢν ψυχρῶς ποιεῖ*. προπηλακίζει '*speaks* insultingly of.' ἐμπίπτειν 'to engage in involuntarily.' ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων 'as far as the subject will allow me.'

§§ 257—264 *Our fortunes therefore differ very widely: I had the advantage of good education, and of competent means, enabling me to perform all public duties. You were born and bred in poverty and engaged in mean employments from your boyhood; were the son of an infamous mother; and when grown to manhood undertook the most insignificant of public offices for pay; and then the lowest parts among inferior actors. Later, when you came forward as a statesman, you shewed your want of patriotism by your timidity when your country was prosperous, your exulting boldness when she was in misfortune.*

257 παιδὶ in some mss. and editions this is followed by *μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν ἐς*, words omitted in Σ, and very likely to have been inserted by an emendator. αἰσχρὸν 'mean and unbecoming.' ἐξελθόντι ἐκ παίδων i.e. 'when I became *ἐφῆβος*,' an Athenian boy at the age of 18 underwent a *δοκιμασία*, or formal recognition by his demesmen, was enrolled in the register of his deme, and thenceforth could perform certain civil functions, but for two years had no right of voting at the *ἐκκλησία*, and was not subject to the ordinary state burdens; Demosthenes however at once served his first trierarchy, *in Mid.* § 100. ἀκόλουθα 'in keeping with this education.' εἰσφέρειν 'to pay a war tax' (*εἰσφορά*), an extraordinary contribution. ἐστεφανῶσθαι see §§ 83, 222. ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν 'that my policy was not at any rate (*γε*) honourable,' even if unsuccessful.

258 **τοιαύτῃ...συμβεβίωκα** 'such fortune has attended me in life.' Cp. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1293 *συγγενῶς δύστηνος ὤν* 'unfortunate from (coevally with) his birth.' **τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα** 'boring people,' *τινα* represents the public generally. **τὸ μέλαν τρίβων** 'preparing the ink,' 'pounding.' It was made from the soot of burnt pine. **βάθρα** 'forms.' **τάξιν** 'position,' §§ 2, 13, 138.

259 This describes the ceremonies in the worship of Sabazius, a Phrygian god afterwards identified with Dionysus; they were of the same class as the Orphic mysteries and those of the Great Mother. Arist. *Av.* 875 *καὶ φρυγίλῳ Σαβαζίῳ, καὶ στρουθῷ μεγάλῃ μητρὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων.* It seems to have been fashionable at Athens. In Theoph. *Char.* 27 the *ὀψιμαθής* is one who among other things *τελούμενος τῷ Σαβαζίῳ σπεῦσαι ὅπως καλλιστεύσῃ παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ.* **τῇ μητρὶ** Glaucothea, the mother of Aeschines, is called *τυμπανιστρία* in § 284. Cp. also § 129. These vulgar attacks on the parents of Aeschines, who were probably respectable people, are revolting instances of the method of Attic oratory, in which Demosthenes sinned as conspicuously as any. **τελούσῃ** 'performing the ceremonies of initiation'; the person initiated is said *τελεῖσθαι* (§ 265). **συνεσκευωροῦ** 'assisted in her other impostures.' **νεβρίζων... τελουμένους** 'clothing the candidates for initiation in fawn skins, baptizing and purifying them.' **κρατηρίζων** seems to refer to some sprinkling or pouring of holy water upon the worshippers. Thus the superstitious man, according to Theophrastus (*Char.* 16) *τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι...καὶ τῶν περιρραινομένων ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπιμελῶς δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι.* **ἀπομάττων...πιτύροις** 'scrubbing them with the mud and bran.' This seems to refer to some kind of soap or other composition for mystic cleansing. But it has been explained as though *ἀπομάττων* were *πλάττων* 'modelling figures in clay,' or again of plastering the face with mud in imitation of the Titans who tore Dionysus to pieces, and plastered their faces to escape detection. Or again the bran is compared to the *παιπάλη* which Socrates pours over the head of Strepsiades in the clouds, Arist. *Nub.* 263.

For the fawn skins in Bacchic orgies (**νεβρίζων**) see Arist. *Ran.* 1211

> *Διόνυσος, ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς*
> *καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κάτα*
> *πηδᾷ χορεύων.*

κελεύων...ἄμεινον 'dictating the formula to the candidates,' 'Ill I fled, good I found.' The result of such initiations was that *οἱ μετασχόντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι* [Isocr. *panegyr.* § 28]. Also the change to a purer life is symbolised. Cic. *de Leg.* 2, 24. **ἐπὶ τῷ ὀλολύξαι** 'at raising the glad shout,' as opposed to a

funereal or mournful cry, cp. Eur. *Med.* 1176 *εἶτ' ἀντίμολπον ἧκεν ὀλολυγῆς μέγαν κωκυτόν.* Thus it is used of the shout of Bacchanals, Eur. *Bacch.* 689 *ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσαις σταθεῖσα βάκχαις.*

260 **μαράθῳ** 'fennel,' means here the *νάρθηξ* [Eurip. *Bacch.* 706] or thyrsus carried by the Bacchanals. **λεύκῃ** 'white poplar,' said to symbolize life and death. **ὄφεις παρείας** 'puff-adders' or 'hooded-adders,' cp. Aristoph. *Plut.* *κᾆτα συρίξας ἐγὼ ὀδὰξ ἐλαβόμην, ὡς παρείας ὢν ὄφις.* The snake was connected with the worship of Sabazius, as with that of Dionysus, cp. Theoph. *Char.* 16 *ἐὰν παρείαν ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σαβάζιον καλεῖν.* And cp. the passage in Eurip. *Bacch.* 695

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν καθεῖσαν εἰς ὤμους κόμας
νεβρίδας τ' ἀνεστείλανθ' ὅσαισιν ἀμμάτων
σύνδεσμ' ἐλέλυτο, καὶ καταστίκτους δορὰς
ὄφεσι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.

The Scholiasts interpret the word *παρείας* as meaning snakes *πεφυσιωμένας γνάθους ἔχοντες.* The 'puff-adder' is an African snake, and may have been brought over for religious purposes. **ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης** a mystic cry apparently connecting Attis with the worship of Bacchus. **ἔξαρχος...νεήλατα** 'leader of the chorus, master of the ceremonies, casket-bearer, fan-bearer,' with these and such like names you were greeted by all the crones in the place; and for pay, you received sweetmeats, and twists, and cakes of fresh flour.' **κιστοφόρος** 'bearing the sacred chest' (*κίστη*), containing objects used in the mysteries. Others read *κιττοφόρος* 'carrying ivy.' Cp. Tibull. 1, 7, 48 *et levis occultis conscia cista sacris.* **λικνοφόρος** cp. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 166 *arbuteae crates et mystica vannus Iacchi,* 'the winnowing fan' used as a basket. **νεήλατα** 'fresh-kneaded (*ἐλαύνω*) cakes,' cp. Arist. *Eq.* 1181 *ἐλατήρ* 'a long roll.'

261 **ἐπειδὴ...ἐνεγράφης** 'but when you were entered on the roll of your deme,' i.e. when you came of age. After passing a *δοκιμασία* or scrutiny an Athenian boy was formally entered on the register of his deme (*τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν*) see § 257. He then took the citizen's oath, was publicly armed, and thenceforth was a full citizen and could only be removed from the register by a *δίκη ξενίας.* Pericles enforced the regulation that both parents should be Athenians to enable a boy to be regarded as a full citizen; but at some time subsequent to his day the citizenship of one parent seems to have been regarded as sufficient. By **ὁπωσδήποτε** 'somehow or another' Demosthenes means to insinuate that Aeschines got himself enrolled in spite of being *νόθος,* i.e. not true bred Athenian. **τὸ**

κάλλιστον τῶν ἔργων 'the most honourable employment you ever had.' **τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις** 'the inferior magistrates,' not the strategi or archons. Arist. *Av.* 1111 *κἂν λαχόντες ἀρχίδιον εἶθ' ἁρπάσαι βούλησθέ τι.* **κατῄσχυνας** used sarcastically as in Arist. *Av.* 1451

τὸ γένος οὐ καταισχυνῶ.
παππῷος ὁ βίος συκοφαντεῖν ἐστί μοι.

Cp. also *Nubes* 1220.

262 **τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις** 'nicknamed the Lugubrious.' *ἐπικαλούμενος* is a neutral word 'surnamed,' cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 181 *Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος*, but it is here used in a bad sense 'nicknamed.' **σῦκα...ἠγωνίζεσθε** This rather ponderous piece of satire has been often misunderstood. Demosthenes means that Aeschines and his company were such wretched actors that they got pelted with figs and grapes in such abundance that he could have set up a knavish fruit-seller's stall on the proceeds, and certainly made more of it than he ever did by his acting (*ἀγώνων* 'acting' or 'contests'); for there was an implacable war between him and the spectators, from which he got many hard knocks. Some read *τραύματα* after *ἀπὸ τούτων*, but it is not necessary, and rather weakens the point. **πλείω λαμβάνων** is meant to have a double meaning 'getting more profit' and 'getting more knocks.' **εἰκότως...σκώπτεις** 'no wonder then that after such a life of warfare you jeer at other people, who have not had the same experience, as cowards.' This last refers to the reflection which Aeschines had cast on Demosthenes for his behaviour at Chaeroneia, cp. § 245. The rough usage experienced by unpopular players is illustrated in Bekker's *Charicles*, p. 411.

263 **τρόπου** 'your character.' **βαδιοῦμαι** cp. § 58. **δι' ἣν** This pregnant use of the relative (for *ὥστε διὰ ταύτην*) after *τοιοῦτος* is pretty frequent in the orators. Cp. Lys. 7 § 40; 13 § 5 *ἔπραξε γὰρ οὗτος τοιαῦτα δι' ἃ νυνὶ εἰκότως μισεῖται.* **λαγὼ βίον** proverbial, Luc. *Somn.* 9.

264 **χιλίων** The combined loss at Chaeroneia according to other authorities was several thousand killed, and two thousand taken prisoners. **ἐθάρρησε** see § 284 where the behaviour of Aeschines after the battle is criticised. **οὐ γάρ... εὐχερῶς λέγειν** 'for I do not think that I ought lightly to mention all the shameful things and disgraceful particulars which belong to him.' By assuming this high tone of morality, as if he could not defile his lips with mentioning some of Aeschines' actions, he manages to insinuate the worst. For this rhetorical artifice and Cicero's imitation of it, see § 129. **ὅσα μηδὲν...ἐμοί** *quae dedecoris nihil habeant*, the *μή* gives the indefinite sense which in Latin is expressed by the subjunctive.

§§ 265—270 *Now contrast my early career with that of Aeschines: both in education and early employments I have had the position of a gentleman, he of the lowest and most subordinate underling. Even now the question about me (which is practically decided in my favour) is the amount of public services which I have done: he is merely in the position of sycophant, and an unsuccessful one.*

265 **ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων** 'you kept an elementary school, while I went to one.' The *γράμματα* includes all the preliminary education of a boy, which Plato divides into *γράμματα, μουσική, γυμναστική*. *φοιτάω* used of any *regular* visiting, as of a day-scholar to the *διδασκαλεῖον* (cp. Arist. *Nub.* 916, *Equit.* 1235), a lover to his mistress, a wrestler to the palaestra, etc. **ἐτέλεις** sc. in Sabaziis, **ἐτελούμην** in Eleusiniis. [After *ἐτελούμην* most MSS. have *ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν*.] **ἐγραμμάτευες** see on § 127. **ἐξέπιπτες**, *explosus es*, 'you were hissed off the stage.' The active of this would be *ἐκβάλλω*, *Fals. Leg.* 389 (337) *ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε*. Plat. *Gorg.* 517 *οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξέπεσον*. **ἐσύριττον** Theophr. *Char.* 16. The *βδελυρὸς* is one who is wont *συρίττειν οὓς ἡδέως θεωροῦσιν οἱ λοιποί*.

266 **πεπαῦσθαι** see on § 82, fin. **τὸ πέμπτον μέρος** § 250.

267 **παρ' ἃς...ἐλυμαίνου** 'as a parallel to which, pray (*μοι*) read the speeches that you used to murder.' **ῥήσεις** are the long speeches in tragedies as opposed to the choruses and stichomythia. **ἐλυμαίνου.** In § 180 we have *ἐπέτριψας* used in this sense. **ἥκω** Eur. *Hec.* 1. **κακαγγελεῖν.. θέλοντά με.** This line is not in any existing play. **κακὸν κακῶς** a common combination of words expressing contempt of a somewhat vulgar kind. **μάλιστα...ἔπειτα** § 1. **πονηρὸν...τριταγωνιστήν** 'seeing that you are villainously bad, both as a citizen and as—an actor of third-rate parts.' A similar instance of anticlimax *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, or bathos, occurs in *Fals. Leg.* 109 (98) *ὢν οἶμαι πονηρὸς καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός...καὶ γραμματεύς*.

268 **κοινὸς** 'a good citizen,' 'public spirited' (Lat. *civilis*, one interested in the welfare of his fellow-citizens). **τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν** 'a helper of the needy.' **φιλάνθρωπος** 'humane.' **ἐλυσάμην** 'ransomed,' *λύσασθαι* 'to obtain freedom for by paying ransom,' *λῦσαι* 'to set free.' **συνεξέδωκα** 'I shared in portioning out,' i.e. in marriage. Cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* 258 *Ἀριστείδην...οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος*. The duty of portioning girls was in the first place of course incumbent on the father, and, in his default, on the brother or nearest male relative. The performance of this duty by a friend or relative is often made a subject of self-laudation by the orators, as among the first of private duties. *Lys.* 19, 59.

269 τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα...ἐπιλελῆσθαι translated by Seneca *de benef.* 2, 10, 4 haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam. οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι...ἀρκεῖ μοι 'nothing shall induce me to do so: but I rest satisfied with the opinion that has been generally conceived of me in these matters.' οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι 'nor will I be provoked by his attacks to do so.'

§§ 270—275 *Moreover our misfortunes were shared by all the world, and cannot be rightly attributed to me. Even if they could, you are not the man to do so, who gave not a word of advice at the time. Nor is blame and punishment the fitting portion of the man who has failed after taking all the proper precautions, and the course dictated by the highest wisdom.*

271 φορὰν πραγμάτων 'a crop of troubles,' see on § 61. For *πράγματα* 'troubles,' cp. § 292 *φάσκων δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσεῖν.* οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει 'disastrous.'

272 εἰ μὲν 'if, as was *not* the case.' εἰ δὲ 'if, as *was* the case.' ἐπιβάλλει act. 'falls upon.' § 254.

273 ἡ πόλις προὐτίθει The president was said *προτιθέναι λόγον* or *γνώμην* 'to propose the subject of discussion,' cp. Herod. 8, 49, 12; Thucyd. 6, 14. Here the whole people are said to act in this capacity, cp. Xenoph. *Memor.* 4, 2, 3 *τῆς πόλεως λόγον περί τινος προτιθείσης.* For the infin. σκοπεῖν cp. Herod. 9, 27 *προὔθηκε λέγειν.* Join ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις 'for certainly it was not out of good-will that you left open for me the field of expectations and ambition and honours.' For *παρεχώρεις*, see on § 68.

274 ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκών; 'is anyone engaged in wilful, voluntary crime?' ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν, sc. *διωρισμένας ὁρῶ* ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; 'has anyone made an involuntary slip,' or lapse from the right way? *ἀδικεῖ* and *ἐξήμαρτε* contrasted. οὔτ' ἀδικῶν...μεθ' ἁπάντων 'but what if a man, from no criminal or even mistaken motive, devotes himself to a course of action believed by all to be the right one, and yet, in common with the rest of his countrymen, fails?' To connect *δοκοῦντα* with *πᾶσι* seems more forcible than to take *συμφέρειν πᾶσι* together as Kennedy does, translating 'which seem to be for the general good.' Demosthenes states the three cases as crime, mistake, and common misfortune. The whole point of the last is that the statesman acted with the full concurrence of the whole people and shared in their ill-luck without blame to himself. Cp. § 197. συνάχθεσθαι = the dramatic words *συνασχαλᾶν—συναλγεῖν*, 'to condole,' 'sympathize with.'

275 **νομίμοις** 'written laws,' as well as general customs of mankind. **ἀγράφοις**, so Soph. *Antig.* 454 *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα.* In England *νόμοι ἄγραφοι* would answer to the common law, *γεγραμμένοι* to statute law. **ἀτυχημάτων** is the emphatic word,—'what Aeschines has himself spoken of as "misfortunes," he now attacks as "faults" of mine.'

276—284 **Vindication of Demosthenes' eloquence.**

§§ 276—277 *He warns you against being captivated by my cunning in speech. Well, whatever ability I have has at any rate been applied to the service of the state—his to the defence of its enemies.*

276 **ἁπλῶς** 'honestly.' **ἐκέλευεν** 'kept bidding you.' **δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν** 'a clever speaker, a juggler, and a subtle rhetorician.' It is not easy to give any English word that adequately represents *σοφιστήν*, which has both a good and a bad meaning. As used here of the orator it implies the possession of skill and an evil use of it. **ὡς...ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι...σκεψομένους** 'as though it was at once true, and as though his hearers would not proceed to ask.' For these accusatives absolute with *ὡς* cp. on § 122. **καὶ δὴ** = *ἤδη* 'his allegations forthwith become facts.'

277 **οὕτως...φρονεῖν** 'in the same proportion the speaker gets the credit of being a man of sense.' **ταύτην μὲν...ἰδίᾳ** 'every one of you will discover that this is at all times exerted *for* your interests in the state affairs, and on no occasion *against* your interests nor in my own private quarrels.' **ἐξεταζομένην** *versatum*, 'employed' as in *Timoc.* § 6 *ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ γραφαῖς δημοσίαις ἐξετάζομαι.* **προσέκρουσε** 'quarrelled with him.'

§§ 278—279 *Violence of language is never advisable, but if ever it is justifiable it is in a case involving danger to the state. To use it in gratification of personal spite or personal display, as Aeschines has done, is intolerable.*

278 **εἰσιέναι** 'to come into court,' used also of an actor coming upon the stage, hence often to take a particular character, see on § 180. **μάλιστα μὲν** 'if possible,' i.e. it would be best for him, if he had not, etc. **διακείμεν'** 'disposed.' **σφοδρὸν** = *validum* 'vehement' (*σφοδρά, valde*). **ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ** *res est populo*, 'the people have to deal with.'

279 **στεφάνου ... συνεσκευασμένον** 'to be here with an accusation ready made and got up touching my crown and vote of thanks.' **κατηγορίαν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον** = *ἥκειν ἔχων κατηγ. συνεσκευασμένην.* **τόνδ'**, Ctesiphon. **καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν** 'implies unmitigated malice.'

§§ 280—282 *But an orator's glory is not a trained voice, but a sympathy with the sentiments of his fellow-citizens. This I displayed; but your readiness to undertake an embassy to Philip after our defeat, which for some years before you had declined, showed your secret feelings.*

281 **προορᾶται** the middle *ὁρῶμαι* is poetical, but *προορῶμαι* occurs in Attic prose from Thucydides downwards. **οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς** (sub. *ἀγκύρας*) **ὁρμεῖ** 'rides not on the same anchor with,' see Porson on Eurip. *Orest.* 69 *ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς ῥώμης ὀχούμεθ'*, and Arist. *Equit.* 1241 *λεπτή τις ἐλπίς ἐστ', ἐφ' ἧς ὀχούμεθα.* **ἐξαίρετον** 'exclusively mine,' a metaphor from the distribution of booty, cp. *Fals. Leg.* 275 (247).

282 **ἆρ' οὖν...ὃς εὐθέως...Φίλιππον.** 'Pray then did *you* not act in the same way? But how is that possible, since you immediately after the battle began your journey?' etc. The use of *καὶ πῶς* is well known: it always expresses a doubt or disbelief of what has been just stated: *πῶς καὶ* merely asks for additional information, see Porson on *Phoeniss.* 1373. **καὶ ταῦτ'** 'and that too.' **ἀρνούμενος τὴν χρείαν** 'though you disowned the connexion.' **ὁ κῆρυξ** 'the herald' who at the Ecclesia uttered the public prayer for the good of the state, and an imprecation on its enemies. **κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος** 'against a professional orator,' see § 170.

§§ 283—284 *Before the battle you declared with solemn imprecations that you had no connexion with Philip. Immediately after it Philip was your friend and guest,—you mean your paymaster! And yet you venture to twit me with treason!*

283 **ὅστις εἶ** 'what sort of man you are.' **μηδὲν...πρᾶγμα** 'that you and Philip had nothing to do with each other.' Herod. 5, 84, fin.

284 **τῆς τυμπανιστρίας**, see on § 130. **ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος** *diminuendo*, 'guest-friend, or friend at all, or even commonly acquainted with.' For **ξένος** see § 82 note. **τουτωνὶ** the Athenian people, cp. §§ 124, 283, 298 etc. **ὧν...εὑρήσεις** 'for which I am the last person in the world that you will find to be responsible.'

285—324 Recapitulation.

§§ 285—290 *That my services were appreciated was shown by the citizens selecting me, and not you, to speak the funeral oration over those who fell at Chaeroneia. And their epitaph recognises that success is in the hands of the gods, not in that of the counsellor.*

285 **χειροτονῶν γὰρ**, see on § 18. **παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα** 'at the actual time of the occurrences,' cp. § 239. **προβληθέντα** 'though you were proposed, nominated,' as § 149 *προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος ἀνερρήθη*. **εὔφωνον** another jibe at his pride in his voice, cp. § 283. **Demades** was taken prisoner at Chaeroneia, but released by Philip's command. **ὑμῶν** i.e. of your party. **Pythocles**, see *Fals. Leg.* 249 (225); they were of the party of Phocion and put to death with him in B.C. 317. Plutarch *Phoc.* 35. **ἔτ' ἄμεινον** 'all the *more* for that'; compare the sense of *καλῶς* = 'very,' *Oed. Tyr.* 1008 *ὦ παῖ, καλῶς εἶ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τί δρᾷς*.

286 **εὐθενούντων**, *εὐθενεῖν* is the Attic form of the Homeric and Ionic *εὐθηνεῖν vigere*. **τοὺς...ἄδειαν** 'those who took advantage of the public misfortunes to declare their real sentiments with impunity.'

287 **ὁμόσπονδον** lit. 'sharing in the libation,' which was made after the banquet; therefore, 'who sat at the same table with them,' will express it. Cp. Aesch. *in Ctes.* § 52. **τοῖς... παραταξαμένοις** 'with those who had been opposed to them on the field,' § 245. **ἐκεῖ** 'at Philip's court.' **ὑποκρινομένους** 'acting a part,' see on § 15. **ἐκείνων**, scil. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Compare with the whole passage, *Fals. Leg.* 141 (128).

288 **ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς** 'to conduct the funeral ceremonies.' **δέον** absol. neut. part., see § 122. **ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ** = *παρ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτῳ* 'at the house of one who was most nearly connected with them.' **τὸ περίδειπνον** 'the after-feast.' The custom of feasting at funerals was of very ancient date, and in the heroic ages was accompanied by games, as we learn from Homer. It continued in Rome, and until a late period in our own history. Shakespeare mentions it (*Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 2), 'the funeral baked meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables': and Sir Walter Scott gives a graphic description of it in the opening scene of his *Bride of Lammermoor*. **κοινῇ** 'on public grounds' and 'taking them collectively,' the latter in strict opposition to *ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ*. **παθόντων ἃ μὴ ὤφελον** an euphemism for *ἀποθανόντων*, cp. *εἴ τι πάθοι, εἴ τι γένοιτο* § 168.

289 **δημοσίᾳ** 'at the public expense.' **ἐπιγράψαι**. Cp. Thucyd. 2, 43. **ἀγνώμονα** 'malignant,' 'unpatriotic,' cp. *ἀγνωμονεῖν* §§ 94, 252.

THE EPITAPH.

1 **εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο ὅπλα** 'took up their position on the field,' a meaning which varies somewhat from the usual idea of the phrase, which is 'to pile arms.' Thucyd. 2, 2 *θέμενοι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα* is compared, but it is not exactly parallel.

2 ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν 'scattered the pride.' Mr Simcox endeavours to reconcile this to facts by translating 'put away the *reproach* of their enemies,' i.e. made it impossible for their enemies to despise them. But the Greek will not bear this meaning, and the proverb 'as lying as an epitaph' might excuse us from stretching the Greek to make the poet speak truth. Two minor successes before Chaeroneia may perhaps give some colour to the word. Blass explains 'prevented them entering the country,' cp. § 229. See § 216.

3 μαρνάμενοι...βραβῆ 'In the battle they did not save their lives, but took Hades as impartial arbitrator between valour and cowardice.' Nothing can make the construction anything but uncouth and bad, but the sense is not far to seek. The fallen heroes left the decision between courage and fear,—between the impulse to run away and the impulse to stand firm,—to death. That is, they died rather than allow the thought of running away: they fought till death put an end to the question. The tone of the epitaph is not triumphant, but, as Mr Simcox well says, 'the object of the whole piece is to confess that all is lost but honour.' The construction of the emendation proposed, *μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος* 'fighting the battle of valour and spirit,' is I think impossible. Blass follows Weil in reading *ἄρεως* for *ἀρετῆς*.

6 ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν 'have round their neck,' lit. 'on both sides of their neck.' Cp. *Odyss.* 3, 486 *ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες*—which the epigrammatist probably had in his mind.

7 τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων 'of these men that laboured sore.'

8 ἧδε κρίσις may refer to what precedes, 'since God willed' that they should fall; or to what follows, 'since it is God's decree' that mortals should be liable to failure.

10 ἔπορεν sc. *ὁ θεός*. Hom. *Il.* 7, 288 (Blass).

290 κατορθοῦν. see § 274. ἀνέθηκε sc. *ὁ ποιητής* 'attributed.' εἰς κεφαλήν a common execration, sometimes without a verb at all. See Arist. *Ach.* 833; *Pax*, 1063; *Plut.* 526.

§§ 291—293 *His voice and manner seemed to express exultation rather than sorrow at the public disasters; and his attacks upon me are really attacks on the noble and glorious policy which the whole state adopted.*

291 λαρυγγίζων 'bawling,' 'straining his windpipe.' Arist. *Equit.* 358 *λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας* 'I will out-bellow the orators,' a better translation than 'I will throttle.' τοῖς...ἀνιαροῖς 'in regard to the painful events which had taken place.'

292 φροντίζειν, with genitive, see on § 190. τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν=τῇ πολιτείᾳ. τετάχθαι almost middle in sense 'to take his place,' 'to be found in the ranks.' πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός 'you have notoriously done,' 'are shown to have done.' εἰς πράγματα 'into trouble,' as φορὰ πραγμάτων, § 271. Herod. 6, 40; Arist. *Plut.* 652. φάσκων 'alleging,' generally with a sense of falseness or insincerity, though in form it is merely frequentative. ὑμῶν sc. 'you Athenians'—'it not having been in consequence of my policy and principles that you began taking measures for the protection of the Greeks.' §§ 96, 98.

293 ὧν attracted into the case of antecedent. G. § 153. ἔβλαπτε ἄν...διέβαλλεν 'would not have been trying to depreciate and discredit.'

§§ 294—296 *And he charges me with treason! The real traitors were those in every state who had long been playing into Philip's hands, some of whose names I will record,—and their policy was that of Aeschines.*

294 ἐπ' ἀληθείας cp. § 48. ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου cp. 4 *Philipp.* § 36 ἀνελεῖν ἐκ μέσου τὰς βλασφημίας. ὡς ἀληθῶς § 85. οἷς...ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν 'on whose head,' gives force and emphasis to the expression. Cp. § 290. ἀναθεῖεν see on § 17, where ἀνατιθεὶς is used without τὴν αἰτίαν.

295 Cicero imitates this passage, *Verr.* 4 § 26. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας 'each deceiving the citizens with whom they had to deal,' cp. § 48. Polybius (17 (18) 14) protests against classing as traitors all men in the several states who were opposed to the policy of Demosthenes. His view was that the presence of Philip in the Peloponnese was necessary for the freedom of the other Peloponnesians from Sparta—especially of the Messenians, Megalopolitans, and Tegeans. Polybius writes as a partisan against Sparta: still the case was one which evidently admitted of different views, and Demosthenes at any rate could not plead that his policy had been successful. Harpocration tells us that a full account of these traitors and the history of that period was given in the now lost books of Theopompus of Chios (circ. B.C. 376—300).

296 ἀλάστορες 'spirits of evil' sent to punish the human race. Cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 354. Eur. *Hippol.* 820. ἠκρωτηριασμένοι 'who have dismembered, mutilated,' prop. 'cut off the extremities' (ἀκρωτήρια). Cic. (*Orat. p. red.* 2, 4) speaks of *interfectores reipublicae*. Æsch. *Ctes.* 207. προπεπωκότες 'having betrayed,' or, as we may perhaps translate it, 'pledged.' προπίνω, (1) *propino*, (2) *dono*, (3) *prodo*. The 2nd sense comes from the 1st, because it was anciently the custom to give the drinking

vessel to the person whose health was drunk. **ὅροι καὶ κανόνες** 'definitions and standards.'

§§ 297—299 *From this baseness our city is free, and mainly owing to my advice. From this advice I was seduced by no blandishments of Philip or Alexander.*

297 **περιβοήτου** 'notorious,' 'infamous'; used in a good sense, Thucyd. 6, 31 *ὁ στόλος (εἰς Σικελίαν) περιβόητος ἐγένετο.* **εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν** 'to speak the plain truth,' 'if one must not mince matters.' **ἐρωτᾷς** Æsch. *Ctes.* § 236.

298 **φιλανθρωπία λόγων**=*πειθώ*. The endeavour to make others feel *φίλοι* towards the speaker. Cp. *Mid.* p. 538, § 75. The word was growing into common use to express the behaviour of sovereigns to ambassadors and other foreigners, see on Aeschin. *in Ctes.* § 57. **ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων**, for this double attraction of the antecedent into the relative clause, and the relative to the case of the antecedent, see Goodw. § 154. **οὐδ' ὅσα...τῆς ψυχῆς** 'nor in any advice which I have ever given these gentlemen have I at any time given it them, as you and your friends have, because I inclined like the tongue of a balance to the side of gain, but from a soul honest, just, and impartial.' **τουτοισί** cp. § 284. **τρυτάνη** 'tongue of a balance.' **ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα** 'inclining to the side of gain.' **μεγίστων δὴ** 'by far the most important.' *δὴ* with superlatives is emphatic. **πεπολίτευμαι** middle. **ὑγιῶς** §§ 23, 242.

§§ 299—300 *As for my services in the matter of the walls —they are not what I pride myself on. It was with wisdom and counsel that I strengthened Athens, not stones and walls.*

299 **ἄξια** 'things worthy' neuter in apposition to the substantives, as in § 242. **πόρρω** 'far below.' **οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα**, cp. Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 84 *Ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὥς αὐτός φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ.* This fine image is taken from Alcaeus, fr. 23 *ἄνδρες πόληος πύργος ἀρεύιοι.* See Plato *de Legg.* 778 D. We find a similar sentiment in the speech of Nicias, Thucyd. 7, 77; and Sir William Jones has founded on this passage his celebrated ode beginning 'What constitutes a state,' etc. **τόπους** 'posts.' **καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους** 'and men to protect these.'

300 **προὐβαλόμην**, see § 97 and 195. **τὸν κύκλον** 'the wall round.' **Πειραιῶς...ἄστεως** 'the Peiraeus and the main city' of Athens. *Πειραιεὺς* stands for the whole peninsula, the harbour, or the wall round it.

§§ 301—305 *My arrangements for the defence of the frontier were such as prudence dictated. If they failed through the*

fault of others, or from the hostility of Fortune,—how is that my fault? I will show you the actual facts as to the forces raised in consequence of my advice.

301 **ἐκ θαλάττης** 'on the side of the sea' § 230. **παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν** sc. *γῆν* 'along a line of coast friendly to us the whole way.'

302 **Προκόννησον** an island in the Propontis, a colony from Miletus. Demosthenes mentions the places to be touched at by corn-ships coming from the Euxine. **τὴν Χερρόνησον** 'the Thracian Chersonese.' **ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε...προσθεῖναι** 'and to add to the state that in which it was deficient.' Cp. Thucyd. 1, 80, 4 *τούτου ἐλλείπομεν*.

303 Connect **βεβουλευμένα** with **ὀρθῶς**. **παρεθέντα** 'passed by through negligence.' **παρεθέντα** 'deliberately given up.' **καὶ ὅσα...ἧκεν** 'and of all the measures that could be embraced by the power and calculation of one man, not one was omitted.' For **ἧκεν** cp. Arist. *Plut.* 919 *ὥστ' εἰς ἔμ' ἥκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα*. **ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις** 'did mischief to the interests of Hellas,' *nocuerunt*. The dative construction with this verb is the rarer. We have the word with the accusative in §§ 267, 312, but in both cases in a slightly different sense—'to spoil' or 'weaken' a thing: whereas with the dative, which is more often of a living object, the sense of making conscious attacks upon is more prominent. Cp. the construction of *noceo* and *laedo*.

304 **τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν...τῶν εἴσω** i.e. those North or South of the pass of Thermopylae. **ἐκέχρητ' ἄν** 'would have been experiencing': the pluperfect of such deponent verbs = the imperfect; for *κέχρημαι* in this sense is really a present, Madv. § 117. For its meaning cp. § 194.

305 **πολλῷ ἐλάττοσι** 'falling far short of.' **λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι**. The participle *λαβὼν* belongs to both imperatives. Blass explains *ἀνάγνωθι* to imply 'read to the end'; but pleonastic expressions in legal formulae scarcely require explanation. Cp. § 28.

§§ 306—313 *Contrast with these services the conduct of Aeschines: his silence when counsel was needed, his vehemence when trouble had come. Ask where are the fruits of his policy in material advantages to the state, or the increase of its honour? Or what he ever contributed to its needs from his superfluity?*

306 **μεγίστοις** agrees with *τοῖς πολίταις* understood from *τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην*. **ὑπῆρχεν** without *ἄν* expresses a necessary consequence of the condition implied in *κατορθουμένων*, cp. 196, 248, 'it was within our reach' **καὶ τὸ δικαίως** sc.

μεγίστοις εἶναι προσῆν 'and we should have deserved to be so.' **ὡς ἑτέρως**, see on § 212. **κακίζειν** 'to call or make out *κακός*': hence as here, 'to blame,' 'reproach.' Herod. 3, 145 *λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν.*

307 **οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα**...sc. *δεῖ.* From *ὢν* to *κρίνασαν* in the last § is parenthetical. 'Not, by heavens! that a man, 'abandoning the interests of his city, and hiring himself out to 'its enemies, should abet the opportunities of its foes instead 'of those of his country,—nor be jealous of the man who re- 'solved to promote by speech and bill a policy worthy of the 'state, and to take his stand upon it,—nor be cherishing the 'memory of any private wrong which he may have received and 'be lying in wait to revenge it,—nor even be maintaining an 'unfair and insidious silence, as you frequently do.' **μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων** 'to take his stand upon these principles.' **ὕπουλον**, a word properly applied to a wound that is cicatrized or healed over, but still festers within; hence, 'insidious,' 'hollow.' Cp. Soph. *Oed. Rex* 1396 *κάλλος κακῶν ὕπουλον*, and Thucyd. 8, 64 *ὕπουλος αὐτονομία.* Aeschines attempts to excuse this *ἡσυχία*, *Ctes.* § 216.

308 **μεστοὶ** = *pleni ad nauseam*, 'surfeited with.' **ῥήτωρ... ἐφάνη** 'was seen suddenly starting up an orator from his quietude, like a gale after a calm.' The aorist **ἐφάνη** expresses the suddenness of his appearance, and the return to the present tense in **συνείρει**, that *after* his appearance he kept constantly stringing together words, etc., § 140. We may remember the wrangling match between Cleon and the Sausage-seller, Arist. *Eq.* 429

Κλ. *ἐγώ σε παύσω τοῦ θράσους, οἶμαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἄμφω.*
ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθιείς,
ὁμοῦ ταράττων τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εἰκῇ.
'Αλλ. *ἐγὼ δὲ συστείλας γε τοὺς ἀλλᾶντας εἶτ' ἀφήσω*
κατὰ κῦμ' ἐμαυτὸν οὔριον.

συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα. So Arist. *Ran.* 874 *Κρητικὰς συλλέγων μονῳδίας*: *Acharn.* 398 *ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω συλλέγων ἐπύλλια.* **συνείρει** 'he strings them together,' with a notion of a mechanical and unintelligent use of commonplaces. Cp. Arist. *Eth.* 7, 5 (of boys learning to read) *συνείρουσι μὲν τοὺς λόγους, ἴσασι δ' οὔπω.*

309 **μελέτης καὶ ἐπιμελείας** 'study and elaboration' in speaking. **ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν** 'the permanent establishment of a mart.'

310 **τούτων**...**ἐξέτασις** Kennedy translates this 'there was an enquiry for all these things,' cp. § 320; it is rather a metaphor from the muster or roll-call of an army, 'there was

so to speak a mustering of all such qualities,' cp. *ἐξηταζόμην* § 173 (Blass) § 320. **ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις** 'in our previous history.' **ἐν οἷς** 'among whom,' scil. *καλοῖς τε κἀγαθοῖς.* Pors. *ad Eur. Orest.* 910. **οὐδαμοῦ φανήσει γεγονώς** 'you will be proved to have been a mere cipher,' in which sense *οὐδαμοῦ φανῆναι* is common. Cp. *Fals. Leg.* § 126 (116). Allusion is made to the famous response of the oracle to the Megareans, Theocr. 14, 49, Schol. *ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι, οὔτε τέταρτοι, οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.* **οὔκουν ἐπί γ' οἷς** 'not, that is to say, in anything by which your country would be advanced.' The *οὐκ* retains its negative meaning, and the *οὖν* introduces a necessary modification.

311 **διακονία** a *cura* not a *magistratus.* **τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ...χρημάτων** 'what improvement in the financial laws did you make?' Demosthenes indirectly refers to his own Trierarchic law, cp. §§ 103 and 107. **πολιτική** cp. § 246.

312 **ὅστις** 'you, a man who....' There is no antecedent to *ὅστις*, but the relative is often used in this way in vehement or impassioned language, indicating the connexion of the person referred to with all that has gone before, cp. Lysias 7 § 23 *δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω· ὃς εἰ παρέσχετο μάρτυρας κ.τ.λ.* **Aristonicus** may be the same individual who is mentioned §§ 83, 223, as having before proposed to crown Demosthenes. **τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν** 'what he had collected with which to recover his franchise,' cp. § 15. **κηδεστοῦ** 'your relation by marriage.' **ἔρανον δωρεὰν** 'subscribed as a present for your services in spoiling my law about the Trierarchy.' *ἔρανος* (1) that kind of feast called by us 'a pic-nic,' to which each guest contributed a dish. (2) any club or society of subscribers. (3) the money so subscribed. **ἐλυμήνω**, see on § 303. **νόμον** see § 103.

313 **τοῦ παρόντος...ἐκκρούσω** 'put myself out of the line of my present argument.' **οἷς** 'in whose interests,' i.e. the Macedonizing party. **νεανίας** § 136, cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 1334 *κεἰ σφόδρ' εἶ νεανίας.* Lysias 10 § 29 *ὅσῳ μείζους εἰσὶ καὶ νεανίαι τὰς ὄψεις.* **τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης** 'patheticas querelas simulate fundentem calumniandi causa,' veluti ubi Aeschines de Thebana calamitate queritur. (Dissen.) Theocrines was an informer, against whom a speech attributed to Demosthenes or Deinarchus is still extant.

§§ 314—318 *It is well to praise the ancients; but it is hardly fair to compare a living orator, who is sure to be dogged by envy, with one of them.*

314 **εἶτα...μέμνησαι.** Aesch. *Ctes.* §§ 178—182, who contrasts the services of Demosthenes with those of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. **προλαβόντα** 'taking advantage of' or 'using as a precedent,' as in § 224.

315 **τοῖς ζῶσι...φθόνος.** So Horace, *Od.* 3, 24 *virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.*

316 **ἡλίκας** accus. by attraction. **ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον** 'during the present generation,' cp. Herod. 9, 8 *ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας*, 62 *ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον*. Funkhaenel however takes *γιγνομένας ἐπὶ* to mean 'that are reckoned to,' 'placed to the credit of.' Blass reads *ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος βίου.* **φιλανθρωπίας** 'the good-will' with which mankind regards them.

317 **καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους** 'even in their day.' **τοὺς ὄντας τότε** the position of *τότε* is emphatic 'those who existed at the time.' **πρᾶγμα** 'intrigue,' Herod. 6, 73 *τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα.* Cp. the meaning of the word 'practise.'

§§ 318—323 *With the men of my own generation I do not fear comparison. It is only when the time for counsellors was past, and that for flatterers and intriguers had come, that you became important, and I powerless. Then you were cheerful and I depressed.*

318 **ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός** In *Fals. Leg.* 262 (237), Demosthenes mentions two brothers of Aeschines, namely Aphobetus and Philochares. The latter is probably meant here, as he had been a *στρατηγός*. See also Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* 149. **τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν** 'men of his own generation.'

319 **Φιλάμμων**, mentioned by Aristot. *Rhet.* 3, cap. 11. Glaucus was victor in boxing at Olympia in Olymp. 25. **νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο** obs. the tense 'used to be proclaimed victor,' referring to several instances. **οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι** 'I avoid, shirk no one.' This verb, when followed by the accusative, must always be so translated. With the dative its sense would be 'give place to,' 'yield to.' Many verbs thus regulate the case they govern by the idea contained in them, see *λυμαίνομαι* above, §§ 312 and 334: so also *ἐκτρέπομαί τινα* or *τινος*. Compare Soph. *Aj.* 82 *φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν οὐδ' ἂν ἐξέστην ὄκνῳ*, and v. 672 of the same play, *ἐξίσταται γὰρ νυκτὸς αἰανῆς κύκλος Τῇ λευκοπώλῳ ἡμέρᾳ.* See also *Leptin.* § 10 *οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν.* From these passages we may lay down the rule thus:

ἐξίσταμαι takes { dative where *εἴκω* might be used
accus. where *φεύγω*...

Assurgo in Latin answers to *ἐξίσταμαι*, with dat., Verg. *Georg.* 2, 98 *Tmolius assurgit quibus. Eclog.* 6, 66.

320 ἐφαμίλλου 'an object of emulation,' = *περιμαχήτου*, cp. *in Lept.* § 109. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ 'but not one of you came to the front.' πλὴν εἰ...δέοι 'except when the point was to insult the Athenians.' ἃ μὴ...συνέβη i.e. the defeat at Chaeroneia. ἐξέτασις may mean as in § 310 'an opportunity of display for,' or actively 'a review,' 'a calling for,' as though Philip's agents were searching for partisans everywhere. ἱπποτρόφος 'grand gentleman.' Keeping horses was expected of the rich (1) for service in the Cavalry, (2) for gaining prizes at the games: and the two purposes were often combined, cp. Lysias 19 § 63 *ὅτε ἵππευεν οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἐκτήσατο λαμπρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθλητάς, οἷς ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ. ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν στεφανωθῆναι.* This was looked upon as so decisive a sign of wealth that Herodotus (6, 35) describes people as *οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου* 'of a family that kept a four-horse chariot for racing.' Accordingly *ἱπποτρόφος* may be translated 'man of wealth,' 'man of rank.'

321 ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις (*potestatibus*) 'in his offices, when in office,' not as Dissen says, 'opportuna momenta, ubi liceat *τὰ πρωτεῖα* persequi.' Plat. *Alc.* 1, 135 A. τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν 'to maintain the role of honour and supremacy for his city,' i.e. when in office his aim should be the honour of the city, when out of it to show his good-will,—as we should say 'his country must come before party.' ἡ φύσις...ἕτερα 'so much depends on himself—other things on opportunity and power,' i.e. any man may be patriotic. Blass (after Wolf) reads *ἑτέρα* sc. *ἡ τύχη*. ταύτην sc. *φύσιν* or *εὔνοιαν*.

322 ἐξαιτούμενος scil. by Alexander, B.C. 335, see on § 41. ἐπαγόντων scil. those who were in the Macedonian interest, see Aesch. *Ctes.* § 161. οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων. Before this *οὐκ ἀπειλούντων* is usually read. 'Neither when they made me promises, nor when they threatened me, nor when they hounded on these accursed wretches like so many wild beasts against me.' ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς 'from the beginning onwards.' ὀρθὴν...εἱλόμην 'straightforward and honest was the path of policy which I took.' θεραπεύειν prop. 'to wait upon,' 'court,' hence 'to watch for opportunities of aiding.' Cp. sup. § 307.

323 ἑτέρων = *τῶν πολεμίων*, see on § 212. εὐαγγελιζόμενος ...οἴωμαι 'offering my congratulations to all whom I think likely to report them in Macedonia.' κύπτων 'hanging his head.' Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1, 32 *demisso capite terram intueri.*

§ 324 *May the gods not grant the wishes of these men, but rather change their hearts!*

324 **μάλιστα...τούτοις** 'if possible, inspire even these men,' etc. **νοῦν καὶ φρένας** For *φρένες* in this phrase, a word rare in prose, see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 9. **αὐτοὺς...προώλεις** 'bring ye to utter and untimely ruin them, and them alone.' The expression occurs, *Fals. Leg.* 190 (172). The sense of *προ* in *προώλεις* seems to be 'in time,' i.e. before they have ruined us; unless indeed like *ἐξ* it = 'utterly,' from a different point of view,—'root and branch in headlong ruin.' Blass compares *πρόρριζος, προθέλυμνος, πρόπρυμνα*. **γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ** cp. Arist. *Acharn.* 533 *ἐτίθει νόμους ὥσπερ σκόλια γεγραμμένους, ὡς χρὴ Μεγαρέας μήτε γῇ μήτ᾽ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μήτ᾽ ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ᾽ ἐν ἠπείρῳ μένειν.*

APPENDIX A.

ON THE ψηφίσματα AND OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS CONTAINED IN THE DE CORONA.

There are thirty-four documents in all, quoted or referred to, in the *De Coronâ*. Of these twenty-seven are actually given us, being the *first* twenty-seven in order, whereas the *last* seven are supposed to be lost. Now this fact has some effect in lowering the external evidence of the extant twenty-seven as denoting that they have been inserted by a later hand. If we look into the documents themselves, the internal evidence in favour of this supposition is still stronger. Every one of the Archons mentioned by them is fictitious (ψευδώνυμοι), except in the solitary instance of Charondas. The following table shews the names of the false Archons, and the real ones as given by Mr Clinton in the *Fasti Hellenici*.

B.C.	Ψηφίσματα, κ.τ.λ.	*True Archon.*	*False Archon.*
346	Decree about the oaths—§ 29. Decree of Callisthenes—§ 37.	Themistocles. — Archias.	Mnesiphilus.
344	Decree of Eubulus—§ 73. Letter of Philip—§ 77.	Lyciscus.	Neocles.
340	Trierarchic law—§ 105.		Polycles.
339	Spring Pylaea—§ 154. Decree about the Amphissaei.	Theophrastus.	Mnesitheides.
338	Spring Pylaea. Invitation to Philip by the Amphictyons.	Lysimachus.	Mnesitheides.
	Philip's letter—§ 157.		Hieropythes.
	Two Athenian decrees—§ 164. Decree of Demosthenes, § 181.	Charondas.	Nausicles.
337	Decree of Aristonicus—§ 84.	Charondas.	Charondas, Hegemon.
	Decree of Ctesiphon—§ 119. Decree of Aeschines—§ 54.	Phrynichus.	Euthycles. Charondas.

The chronology given in these documents is no less erroneous. Let us take a summary of the events which occurred in the year 346 B.C. and we shall see the falsity of the dates given in the first decree. The embassy of ten returned from Macedonia in the beginning of Elaphebolion, and the Athenians decreed peace with Philip on the 19th of that month. The people placed the management of affairs in the hands of the Senate, and Demosthenes, being a senator, passed a decree on the 3rd of Munychion, "that the embassy should set out at once, and administer the oaths to Philip." [This embassy *ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους* is the subject of Demosthenes' and Aeschines' speeches *De Falsâ Legatione*.] Now the date given in the *ψήφισμα*, quoted § 29, is the last day of Hecatombaeon, *not* the 3rd of Munychion.

The objections founded on chronology to the other documents are equally conclusive. To this is added the use of certain words in meanings characteristic of a later age, such as *παρεύρεσις, ναύαρχος, πλοῖα, πρεσβευταί, θεωροί* and a few others. This is an argument however which must be received with some caution until we are better informed of the usage of Greek in such official compositions: some expressions, for instance, which have been alleged as falling under this description, have been shewn to be supported by the usage of Demosthenes himself. Taking it however as fairly proved that most of the documents in the speech are not those originally used by Demosthenes, it is a question of some interest to consider how they got there.

Now two of them, the decree of the Byzantines §§ 90—91, and the letters of Philip, §§ 77—8 are not open to the same objections as the others, and are still believed by many to be genuine. It therefore looks as if the editor who inserted them used the genuine documents when he could get them, and trusted to his ingenuity for composing the rest. Some theories as to the manner of accounting for them are

(1) Boeckh's, who conceived that some editor of the speech copied them inaccurately and ignorantly from certain collections of decrees contained in the Archives at Athens.

(2) Mr Newman (*Classical Museum* 1 § 12) believed that they were simply compiled by an editor from the Oration itself, and that he thus from ignorance of the other speeches made the blunders mentioned.

(3) Droysen thinks that they were old school exercises. The pupils being given the oration and told to compose the decrees, laws and letters referred to.

(4) Mr Simcox thinks that they were rather illustrations given by some lecturer on the speech, taken down in note books, and thence transferred to some copy of the speech.

All these theories are beset with various difficulties; and it is not perhaps possible to come to any conclusion. For myself I believe that the true explanation must involve the knowledge on the part of the compiler of some of the original documents, and I should expect to find that in most cases the mistakes arose rather from ignorance and inaccuracy, than from conscious fraud. See *Classical Museum*, vol. I., art. 12. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. II. p. 356. Weil, *Preface* to his edition. And for a warning against a too confident scepticism in regard to such documents, see Mahaffy's *Hist. of Gr. Literature*, vol. II., p. 339 note.

APPENDIX B.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE AND PUBLIC CAREER OF AESCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

	B.C.	OLYMP.
Aeschines born	389	98
Demosthenes born	385	
Philip of Macedon born	383	92.2
Demosthenes loses his father, and is placed under the care of three guardians . .	378	100.3
Battle of Leuctra	371	102.1
Demosthenes comes of age, and prosecutes his guardians	366	103.3
Speech of Demosthenes *against Aphobus* .	364	104.1
Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas. (Aeschines distinguishes himself in this battle.)	362	104
Demosthenes' first action *against Midias* .	361	104
Philip, son of Amyntas, regent for his nephew	360	105.1
Philip becomes king of Macedonia, defeats the pretender Argaeus at Methone, declares Amphipolis a free city (which was a subject of dispute between Athens and Olynthus). Makes peace with Athenians who had aided Argaeus. Defeats Paeonians and Illyrians .	359	105.2
Philip takes Amphipolis	358	105.3
The SACRED WAR begins		
The Athenians send an expedition into Euboea, to counteract the influence of the Thebans. Outbreak of the SOCIAL WAR, headed by Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium, assisted by Mausolus of Caria . .	357	105.4

	B.C.	OLYMP.
The Phocians seize Delphi and its treasures—Philip takes Potidaea and gives it to the Olynthians—Birth of Alexander—Demosthenes enters on political life . . .	356	106.1
Speeches against *Androtion*—End of the Social War	355	106.2
Speeches against *Leptines* and on the *Symmories*	354	106.3
Speeches against *Timocrates*, and for the *Megalopolitans*—Philip seizes Pagasae, and besieges Methone	353	106.4
Speech for the *Rhodians*—Philip defeats and kills Onomarchus, liberates Pherae, and attempts to pass Thermopylae, but is prevented by the Athenians—Speech against *Aristocrates*	352	107.1
Victory of Philip over Onomarchus at the gulf of Pagasae	352	107.1
FIRST PHILIPPIC	351	107.2
Expedition into Euboea to resist the Thebans, under Phocion, and battle of Tamynae, where Aeschines distinguished himself, was sent home to announce the victory, and received a crown—Philip takes a town in Chalcidice	350	107.3
The Olynthiac Orations	349	
Capture of Olynthus by Philip—Aeschines becomes a strong advocate for warlike measures against Philip	348	108.1
Aeschines sent along with Demosthenes as one of the ten ambassadors to negotiate a peace with Philip—Becomes the opponent of Demosthenes	347	
End of the Sacred War—Philip appointed Strategus Autocrator of Greece against Persia		
Return of the first Embassy—Second Embassy,		

	B.C.	OLYMP.
ἡ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, of which Aeschines forms one—Speech of Demosthenes *on the Peace*	346	
Aeschines κατὰ Τιμάρχου	345	
Second Philippic	344	109.1
Philip takes Halonnesus	343	109.2
Speech *de Halonneso*—Demosthenes accuses Aeschines of treachery during the Second Embassy to Philip—The speeches of both περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας—The Athenian Diopithes in the Chersonese	342	
Expedition of Athens to Euboea on the motion of Demosthenes—Expulsion of the tyrants of Oreus and Eretria—Public thanks voted to Demosthenes—*Speech on the Chersonese*—*Third Philippic*	341	109.4
Philip declares war against Athens—publishes his manifesto—attacks Byzantium—Trierarchic Law of Demosthenes—[*The fourth Philippic*]	340	110.1
Philip invades the Scythians: defeated by the Thracian Triballi—Aeschines goes as representative of Athens to the Amphictyonic meeting, and instigates the Amphictyons against Amphissa—Demosthenes negotiates an alliance with Thebes	339	
Demosthenes honoured with a third vote of thanks—Battle of Chaeroneia—Demosthenes delivers the funeral oration over the slain	338	
Ctesiphon proposes the public presentation of a crown to Demosthenes—Aeschines indicts Ctesiphon for illegality	337	
Assassination of Philip	336	111.1
Alexander destroys Thebes, and demands the Athenian orators	335	
Alexander crosses the Hellespont—Battle of the Granicus	334	
Agis king of Sparta seeks help from Persia		

	B.C.	OLYMP.
Battle of Issus	333	
Siege of Tyre	332	112.1
Battle of Arbela—Agis defeated by Antipater .	331	
Death of Darius—Aeschines brings forward his indictment against Ctesiphon which has been lying dormant for seven years—"Battle of the Orators"—Aeschines, being defeated, retires to Asia Minor	330	
Harpalus comes to Athens from Babylon .	325	113.4
Demosthenes imprisoned on a charge of bribery—escapes to Troezen	324	114.1
Death of Alexander—Demosthenes' triumphant return to Athens—Aeschines settles at Rhodes—Lamian War	323	
Battle of Cranon—Antipater demands the popular leaders—Demosthenes takes poison —More than half the Athenian citizens disfranchised—Death of Aristotle . . .	322	
Death of Phocion and of Antipater . . .	317	115.4
Death of Aeschines in Samos, whither he had retired from Rhodes	314	116.3

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Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. & C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.